

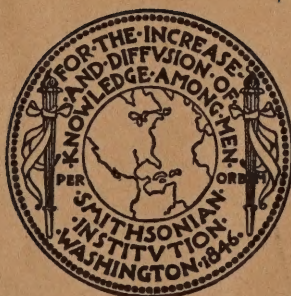
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY
PUBLICATION NO. 14

THE INDIAN CASTE OF PERU, 1795-1940

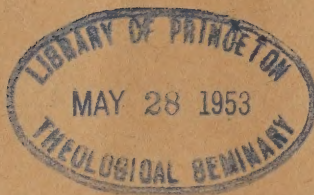
A POPULATION STUDY BASED UPON TAX
RECORDS AND CENSUS REPORTS

by

GEORGE KUBLER

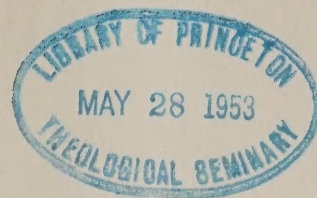


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*Prepared in Cooperation with the United States Department of
State as a Project of the Interdepartmental Committee
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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY,
Washington 25, D. C., June 29, 1950.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith a manuscript entitled "The Indian Caste of Peru, 1795-1940: A Population Study Based Upon Tax Records and Census Reports," by George Kubler, and to recommend that it be published as Publication Number 14 of the Institute of Social Anthropology.

Very respectfully yours,

GORDON R. WILLEY, *Acting Director.*

DR. ALEXANDER WETMORE,
Secretary, Smithsonian Institution.

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13. The Tajín Totonac: Part 1. History, Subsistence, Shelter, and Technology, by Isabel Kelly and Angel Palerm. xiv+364 pp. and index. 33 pls., 69 figs., 18 maps. 1952.

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PREFACE

The writer collected the materials here presented while assigned to the service of the Institute of Social Anthropology in Lima, Peru, during 1948-49. The project grew from a seminar held in 1948 with Peruvian students of anthropology in the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos. The dearth of published demographic information, especially upon the period between 1795 and 1876, suggested a search for appropriate records of the time. The hope was almost immediately fulfilled by finding the tax registers for the period 1826 to 1854 in the Archivo Histórico of the Ministerio de Hacienda.

Federico Schwab, keeper of the Archivo Histórico, at once gave the group every facility for the study of these manuscript tax registers. For 8 months several people worked daily in the Archivo Histórico, abstracting and compiling the head-count figures by district and province. José Matos, the *jefe de práctica* at the Seminario de Estudios Etnológicos in the University, directed the work of abstracting the registers, which was entrusted to Raúl Rivera Serna and Julio Basto Girón. These friends also searched the Biblioteca Nacional for printed material. I am especially grateful to Raúl Rivera Serna for discovering several obscure items in early Peruvian newspapers. He and Humberto Ghersi, of the Instituto de Estudios Etnológicos, accompanied me on a trip to Trujillo and Piura, in the hope that we would find the missing registers for the northern coast provinces in one of the prefectural archives. We were disappointed in this, but we were rewarded by finding the entire correspondence of the period relating to taxation, in Trujillo and Piura, where the departmental Prefects showed many courtesies.

In Lima another group gave several months of their time to typing transcripts of the geographical reports or *informes* that accompany the tax registers. For this excellent work I am grateful to Rosalia Avalos and to Carmen Delgado.

During the winter months of 1949 the same group that had worked in the Archivo Histórico, transferred their activity to the Archivo Nacional, where Dr. Eduardo Coz Sarria gave them the

run of the Sección de Historia. Here Raúl Rivera, Julio Basto, and Miguel Maticorena not only sorted but classified the entire division of *caxas reales*, or Colonial treasury accounts, consisting of several thousand volumes, in their search for further tax lists or population counts. The finds were few but important, and the ground was laid for a separate study by these workers of the fiscal aspects of Colonial Indian history. The search convinced us all that the missing registers would not easily be found in Lima, if at all.

At the same time José Matos directed the work of another group in the Archivo Arzobispal in Lima, upon census papers from 1755 to 1813. For various reasons these materials cannot be used here, although the results are relevant to general demographic study in Peru.

As a whole the work could not have been done without the active support and cooperation of the professors of the Instituto de Estudios Etnológicos. I wish especially to thank my friends Dr. Luis Valcárcel and Dr. Jorge C. Muelle for innumerable courtesies and steady support to all engaged in the investigation.

The study here published is based upon but part of the materials collected. The full file of notes and abstracts on other demographic questions was deposited in the Seminario de Estudios Etnológicos at San Marcos University, where it may be consulted by those interested. Our study falls far short of exhausting the interest and content of the tax registers for the nineteenth century. With further work these same registers would yield detailed information about the composition of the Peruvian population during the nineteenth century, in respect to such topics as the sex ratio, approximate age distribution, marital percentages, statistics on fertility and mortality; and the birth and death rates per thousand population. For lack of time the present study treats only of Indian and non-Indian caste. It is intended less as a demographic study than as a preliminary investigation of the social composition of the Peruvian population during the past 150 years.

G. K.

Yale University.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHMH..... Archivo Histórico del Ministerio de Hacienda, Lima
 ANB..... Archivo Nacional, Bogotá, Colombia
 ANL..... Archivo Nacional, Lima
 RR. EE..... Archivo del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Lima

AA..... Archivo Arzobispal, Lima
 BNL..... Biblioteca Nacional, Lima. Sección manuscritos

The Indian Caste of Peru, 1795-1940

A Population Study Based Upon Tax Records and Census Reports

By GEORGE KUBLER

INTRODUCTION: THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY TAX REGISTERS

The first half-century of Peruvian independence from Spain has for all practical purposes been an ethnohistorical blank. Knowledge of demographic processes until 1876 has been almost entirely lacking. The status, treatment, and behavior of the Indian population were virtually unknown. The processes and the rate of formation of the immense mestizo population of modern Peru were unknown. The effects of large and rapid concentration of land in the hands of few owners, are still undescribed from an ethnohistorical point of view. For all these problems evidence has heretofore been lacking, excepting in the random impressions of foreign travelers in Peru.

Peru fortunately possesses an abundant demographic record covering the second quarter of the nineteenth century. It appears in the tax lists, or *matrículas*, of the period 1826-54. In these tax lists the inhabitants of Peru are classified by caste and by vocation. The *matrículas* (pl. 1 gives a sample of their workmanship) are mainly preserved in the Archivo Histórico del Ministerio de Hacienda, where they have been cataloged and filed under the direction of Federico Schwab. Several more volumes of the same series are kept in the Archivo Nacional and in the archive of the Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, at the Palacio Torre Tagle: they are noted in the text and Bibliography. The main collection, numbering 160 volumes at the Archivo Histórico del Ministerio de Hacienda, is incomplete. Reports from many provinces and in many quinquennial periods are lacking. As the period 1826-54 contains six

taxation periods at 5-year intervals, during which the head count was made for all Peruvians in 58 provinces,¹ we may assume that 348 reports would ideally have been prepared, each in four sections. But provincial cooperation frequently failed. Many provinces sent no reports to Lima. Many reports were lost in transit and in the archival disorder of the past 80 years. Where and when the missing reports will be found is a matter of conjecture. For the present it is clear that the surviving *matrículas*, 164 in number (table 1), allow a remarkably detailed interpretation of Peruvian demographic processes, when combined with other sources of the period. Such sources are preserved in the Archivo Histórico, in a separate file of decrees and correspondence relating to tax legislation, tax collection, and administrative procedure (see Bibliography, under Archival Sources).

As in the Colonial era, demographic information was a byproduct of tax collection. The Colonial system of tribute, revived in 1826 as the *contribución de indígenas*, continued in force until 1854. The tax collectors of this era followed the practice of their Colonial predecessors in the main lines, but they enriched it with a more inclusive network

¹ José Gregorio Paredes, MS., correspondence from the Contaduría general de valores, to the Ministro de Estado en el despacho de Hacienda. August 18, 1834. AHMH, O. L. 233/193.

José Gregorio Paredes (1799-1839) was "cosmógrafo mayor de la república" and the author of several almanacs. See Schwab, 1948, p. 14, and No. 92a. Paredes was chief accountant for the Treasury from 1833 on.

In 1834 Paredes reported in the correspondence cited above that the 58 provinces of Peru had yielded 118 registers of all classes. He recommended that separate books be used for reporting the four classes of taxpayers.

of categories of taxation. Through a number of legislative modifications the fiscal officers of the period strove for a system of taxation whereby every Peruvian would pay taxes in one of four categories: as landowner or tenant; as artisan; as mestizo laborer; or as Indian laborer. These four exhaustive classes were designated as follows:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| (1) Landowners and tenants. | <i>contribución de predios urbanos y rústicos.</i> |
| (2) Artisans----- | <i>contribución de patentes (or gremios).</i> |
| (3) Mestizo and Negro laborers. | <i>contribución de castas.</i> |
| (4) Indian laborers----- | <i>contribución de indígenas.</i> |

The intention to extend taxation to the entire nation, regardless of race or status, is claimed as a Republican innovation in 1831:

La Ley de 11 de Agosto 1826, despues de haber establecido la contribucion de indigenas, conocida en el antiguo Gobierno por la denominacion de tributo de indios, hizo extensivo este gravamen directo a toda la Nacion bajo el titulo de contribucion de castas, con una tasa personal de 5 pesos por cabeza de contribuyente, y con el 4 percent sobre el provecho neto de los capitales fijos, como predios rústicos y urbanos, y de los circulantes en todo genero de industria.²

(The law of August 11, 1826, after having established the levy on Indians, known under the former Government as Indian tribute, extended this direct tax to the entire Nation under the title of the levy upon the castes, with personal tax of 5 pesos per family head, and with 4 percent upon the net return of such capital values as urban and rural landholdings, and the commodities of every kind of industry.)

The system is more diversified and inclusive than Colonial tribute, which affected only the Indian laborers. In theory, under Republican administration, a *matrícula* or register, covered all taxpayers. Hence all heads of families and their dependents, as well as single persons, were registered anew every 5 years, in four sections,

one for each class of taxpayers, in all 58 provinces. In each province, four *matrículas* were to be prepared by the appointed fiscal officers. Each *matrícula* is arranged by districts, which corresponded closely to the curacies of the ecclesiastical government. Each district comprises several towns, villages, or *ayllus*. In each settlement the families are enumerated and classified by age, sex, and civil status, in nine groups. For each town a record of births, marriages, and deaths in the preceding 5-year period is appended (pl. 2 illustrates a sample summary of the data collected in each *matrícula*).

In actual practice, the surviving *matrículas* provide a firm basis for study. Fifty-one provinces are accounted for in the collection at the Archivo Histórico, and for certain provinces the record is nearly continuous from 1826 to 1854 at 5-year intervals. From certain provinces, especially those of the northern coast above Santa Province, very little has survived, and we may indeed doubt whether the local authorities ever complied with the tax laws by preparing the required *matrículas*. Other lines of evidence nevertheless allow us to fill in some gaps for these provinces.

Among surviving registers the relative importance of the various *matrículas* for each province may be judged by two standards. From the point of view of the nineteenth-century tax collector, and of the Government, only the *contribución de indígenas* was significant. The other three tax classes, although they were carried on the books for substantial percentages of expected State income, were never properly collected. From the point of view of the modern student, only the registers of the *contribución de indígenas* and of the *contribución de castas* were complete enough to yield information valid today. The artisans' tax registers were incomplete and artificial, as well as numerically insignificant. The population of Peru, 1826-54, was overwhelmingly a population of rural Indians and mestizos, rather than of artisans. A separate study of the artisans' registers will surely be useful for other studies. It cannot be incorporated here, where the principal object of attention will be the Indian population from 1795 to 1940.

² José Serra, M.S., "Memoria sobre el curso y progreso de las contribuciones directas del Peru en los años de 1830 y 1831," AHMH, O. L. 216/637. 7 fos.

Serra preceded Paredes as chief accountant in the *Contaduría general de contribuciones*. His attempts to organize the collection of taxes in an efficient manner that would reduce speculation by provincial officials, produced so much conflict that his office was abolished, and his post taken over by Paredes. His memoir, cited above, displays a keen intellect thoroughly aware of the institutional decadence of his time.

COLONIAL TRIBUTE AND CASTE

The Colonial perception of tribute pertained only to Indians. As tribute the levy was juridically regarded as "a just token of the vassalage owed by Natives to the Sovereign," against which the Crown was empowered to charge ecclesiastical, administrative, and educational salaries and expenses for the benefit of the Indians.³

More extensive tax laws were enacted by the tribute regulations of 1778, as formulated by José Antonio de Areche.⁴ These regulations codified the disorders of earlier practice, and laid the foundations for Republican taxation. A new levy was inaugurated at this time, called *contribución militar*. Its rubric included for the first time the mestizo, Cholo, sambo, and mulatto castes.⁵ The Indian Rebellion of 1780 canceled the program, but in 1784 the fiscal reforms of Jorge Escobedo,⁶ Areche's successor as Inspector General of Treasury, were put into effect. The method of preparing the tax registers was prescribed in minute detail by the *Reglamento de Matriculas*. A newly created agency, the *Contaduría de Tributos*, supervised collections and accounting.⁷ Later Republican taxation is the

direct continuation of the efforts of Areche and Escobedo. It is worth noting that these Late Colonial economic reforms nearly produced the collapse of the Colonial regime in 1780, and that they contributed to the *criollo* insurrection of the Wars of Independence. The same reforms, once Independence had been achieved, were imposed upon the Peruvian people with doctrinaire rigidity.

On the other hand tribute was abolished under Colonial government as early as 1811, in a belated effort to ally the Indians with the Crown, and in an effort that was repeated with equally immediate failure in 1854 under Republican government (see p. 6 and footnote).

The Royal Order of 1811 has never been adequately studied. It provided for the liberation of the Indians from all tribute obligations. It also established their civil rights as equal in all respects to those of the Spanish settlers of the colony.⁸ Before a year had passed, however, the Treasury in Lima was unable to meet its obligations, especially to the southern army. In November 1812,

³ MS. "Libro mayor de la Contaduría Gral de Tributos del Cargo de su Contador Don Juan José de Leuro: y comprende la Cuenta del año de 1801." ANL, uncataloged, 58 fos.

"Se estableció la contribucion de este Ramo en las Provincias de este Reino, como una justa Señal, y manifestacion del Vasallage debido por sus Naturales al soberano, conforme a lo prescripto en Real Cedula del señor Emperador Carlos Quinto expedida en Valladolid a 26 de junio de 1523 concordante con las Leyes 1^a tit. 5 lib. 6: 3^a tit. 7: 3^a y 4^a tit. 9 lib. 8 de las Recopiladas. Sobre su grueza total cargan los sínodos de los Curas; Salarios de los Subdelegados; los de los Maestros de Escuela Preceptores; asignaciones para fábricas de Yglesias, Catedrales, y Parroquiales de Yndios; y otros piadozas intenciones con que la tiene S. M. gravada." Fo. 2.

On Colonial tribute in general, see Kubler, 1946, pp. 370-371, and the detailed treatment by Marcelo Sánchez Espinosa, 1939-42. This study, by a pupil of Emilio Romero, was prepared as a *tesis de bachillerato* at San Marcos in Lima. It lacks several installments. The author reports that his MS. was lost by the printer after the demise of the journal in 1942 (verbal communication).

⁴ Appointed Visitador General in 1776, Areche published his *Instrucción* on tribute collection in 1778, and remained in office as Inspector General of the Royal Treasury in the Viceroyalty until 1781, when he was replaced by Jorge Escobedo. (See Sánchez Espinosa, 1940, p. 93; Schwab, 1947, p. 113, No. 309.)

⁵ Sánchez Espinosa, 1940, p. 93, characterizes Areche's tax program among the aggravating conditions leading to the Indian Rebellion of 1780. On the meaning of Cholo, see p. 36.

⁶ Jorge Escobedo also reformed the municipal government and the police of Lima. See his extremely rare printed works on these matters in the National Library, Lima. Escobedo died before 1805, and was unable to witness the Republican fruition of his reforms. On Escobedo's offices and appointments, see Schwab, 1947, Nos. 309, 320, 327, 1329.

⁷ Escobedo's *Instrucción Metódica* was printed in 1784, but the writer has been unable to find a copy. The (MS.?) version in the Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires, was reproduced in part by V. M. Mafúrtua, 1906, vol. 7, pp. 357-362. In this version Article I is incomplete; II-XIII are entirely lacking, and XXIII is incomplete. In 1820 Escobedo's *Instrucción* was printed again in an edition of 200 copies, of which no example is known.

The order to reprint in 1820 is preserved in an uncataloged MS., BNL, entitled "Instrucción de Matriculas de Indios por [Julian] Orodea [de la Cuesta] Gral 605. 1820."

A letter by José Serra (AHMH, O. L. 216/649), dated December 16, 1831, refers to a fire that destroyed the archives of the Contaduría de Tributos. No date is given for the fire, but the exceptional rarity of late Colonial manuscript papers on tribute may be assigned to such causes.

⁸ F. Schwab, 1947, p. 552, No. 2338. For the following transcription of the entire text, I am indebted to José Matos:

Para libertar a los Indios del Tributo igualandolos en todo a la clase de Españoles/ S. E./ S. S./ Regente/ Pino/ Quadrado/ Arnaiz/ Moreno/ Valle/ Palomeque/ El Conde/

Lima y Septiembre 2 de 1811=Visto este Expediente en el R¹ Acuerdo de Justicia con asistencia del Ex^{mo} Señor Virrey y los S. S. del margen, presentes los S. S. Fiscales, fueron de uniforme dictamen, q^o se guarde, cumpla y execute, y se publique p^r Bando la R¹ orden de 13 de Março del presente año remitida con fha. 10 de Abril proximo pasado a nombre del Supremo Consejo de Rexencia, en q^o las soberanas Cortes libertan del Tributo a los Indios igualandolos en todo a la clace de Españoles, Consultandose a S. M. con Testimonio del Expediente anteriorm^{te} formado sobre este particular=Lima y Sept^{ra} 4 de 1811=Cumplase el anted^{to} auto del R¹ Acuerdo y en consecuencia imprimase el competente numero de Exemplares del Bando q^o ha de entenderse con inclusion del R¹ Decreto relativo a la libertad del Tributo de los Indios ingulandolos en todo con la clace de Espanoles p^a publicarlo en esta Cap^l y en las de las Intendencias y Cabeza de Partidos de este Virreynato circulandolo al efecto a los S. S. Gobernadores Intendentes con estrecho encargo de su puntual observancia; y p^a q^o los Indios tengan quanto antes anticipada noticia de la consideracion q^o han merecido a la soberania de las Cortes, escrivase conforme a ello p^r el Extraordinario de hoy a las Intendencias de la Carrera del Cusco y al S^o D^o Jose Man^l de Goyeneche. Tomese razon de dha. soberana resolucion y esta providencia en el Trá^l de Cuentas, Cajas Reales y Contad^a General de Tributos, p^r lo perteneciente al ramo de Tributos hta el semestre de S^a Juan ultimo a fin de q^o recauden y enteren lo adecuado ala mayor brevedad, y fho dese etc^a a S. M. con testimonio del Expediente formado anteriorm^{te} sobre este particular q^o se sacara p^r duplicado a la mayor brevedad=A bascal=Simon Ravago=tomose razon en el Tribunal de Ct^{as} en 17 de Sept^{ro} y en esta R¹ Caja en 13. de Noviembre de 1811=Es copia del Orig^l=Rubric.

Viceroy Abascal issued a decree confirming the abolition of tribute, but establishing a new *contribución provisional*. This was to be levied upon Indians, as possessors of equal civil rights with the Spaniards of the colony.⁹

At about this time, the extension of "equal civil rights" to other classes of the population, i. e., the *castas*, was under debate in the Spanish Cortés, where the Deputy for America spoke passionately against their exclusion from the new social contract:¹⁰

... el labrador, minero é industrial ó manufacturero ... son los que se llaman castas ... ¿quien ha sostenido para España aquellos vastos dominios con su sangre, sino las castas, pues los indios son excluidos de la milicia?

(The laborer and miner, the artisan and the manufacturer compose the "castes." Who but the "castes" have shed their blood to maintain these vast dominions for Spain, since the Indians are excluded from military service?)

⁹ Schwab, 1947, p. 564, No. 2440: the entire MS. copy of the decree is in AHMH, Lib. 1170, f. 201 v. The entire text is here transcribed because of its importance in studies of the period:

En la ciudad de los Reyes del Peru en 14 dias del mes de Nov^{ra} de 1812 habiendose congregado Junta Gen^l Extraordinaria de Tribunales a que asistieron el E. S. Virrey el Illmo Sr Arzobispo de esta Capital, el E. S. Consejero de estado conde de Vista florida y los SS. Dr. Dn./ Jose Silva Obispo electo de Huamanga D^a Juan del Pino Manrique D^a Francisco Xavier/ Moreno, D^a Man^l M^a del Valle Dn tomas Palomeque Oydores de esta R^l Audiencia/ Dn Juan de Oyarzabal del Consejo de S. M. superintendente de la R^l Casa de Moneda/ D^a Juan Bazo y Berri Alcalde de corte D^a Jose Pareja Fiscal de lo Civil D^a Miguel/ de Eyzaguirre de lo criminal y Protector Gen^l de Naturales D^a Pedro Zalduegui Inquisidor/ el Marq^o de Valde Lirios y D^a Fern^{do} Zambrano Ministros del Tribunal mór de Ctás/ D^a Juan M^a Galvez Intend^{te} de Exto y de esta Cap^l D^a Juan José de Leuro Intendente/ de Exto y contador Gen^l de Tributos y D^a Joaquin Bonet Ministro honorario del R^l trib mór/ de Ctás. e interino de estas R^o Caxas el Marq^o de Torre Tagle y D^a Andres de Salazar/ Alcaldes ordinarios de esta Ciudad D D D^a Ignacio Mier y D^a Matias de Querejas/ Dignidades de est S^a Iglesia Catedral D^a Antonio de Elizalde y D^a Man^l Torre Reg^o y Procurador Gen^l del Exmo Cabildo D^a Antonio Alvarez de Villar y D^a Fran^{co} Izcue Ministros del R^l Tribunal de Minería D^a Pedro Bazo del R^l trál de Mi/neria D^a Pedro Truxillo Director Gen^l de la R^l de Tabacos D^a Ant^o Izquierdo Ad/ ministrador de la R^l Aduana y D^a Domingo de Lainfiesta de Temporalidades/ Hizo presente el E. S. Virrey el verdado Estado en que se halla este Erario exha/usto de fondos y sin recursos ni arbitrios prontos de que acopiarlos gravado/ con crecido numero de creditos que por la generosidad y buena fee con que/ han sido franqueados de mandan su ejecutivo pago y sobre todo necesitado/ de continuar los Auxilios al Exto del Alto Peru y de mas puntos q^o resguardan estas leales y fieles Provincias de los peridos desigios de los/ insurgentes y que en tan apuradas circunstancias habia recibido S. E./ repetidos recursos de varios comunidades y Ayllos de Indios solicitando se/ les admitiese la misma Cantidad que satisficjan p^r razon de Tributo/ antes de la gracia y exencion que les fue concedido p^r las tristes [ha] za/ nas de la nacion pues en esa Voluntad y oferta daban una prueba de/ su gratitud y amor a la sagrada causa de la Patria y el Estado y siendo/ muy recomendable en el particular [sic] los informes del Sr Presidente interino/ del Cuzco y reverendo Obispo de la Paz Dn Remigio de Santa y Ortega leydos/ estos y los informes del Sr Contador Gen^l de tributos Mtros Geñ trib^l mayor de cuentas/ y ultimam^{te} expuesto p^r los SS Fiscales y lo que en la Junta expuso de palabra el S^r Fiscal/Protector (pidiendo se insertase en la acta como así se acordó) y es reducido a que elevado el/ Indio a la clase de Espanol no pueda renunciar los Derechos que como tal le corresponden/ mucho mas quando no aparece de los Docum^{tos} antes citados haberse practicado el Examen/ de su voluntad del modo individual que ser debia p^r lo que en razon de su Minis^{to} pedia se/

declarase que sin haber lugar a ese altanam^{te} debia p^r lo tanto satisfacer desde haora las/ cantidades que se exigen de los demas Espanoles. Visto y examinado todo con la detenida aten/cion que exige su importancia y hoydo el digtamen del muy Revdo señor Arzobispo/ el q^o con el pulso conocim^{tos} practicados y experiencia adquirida en el manejo de los/ Indios produjo en el particular resolvieron de uniforme Digtamen que igualada/ la nacion indica a la Espanola segun lo sancionado en nuestra constitucion ya publicada/ y obedecida no podian disminuirse en la menor parte las prerrogativas y distinciones de q^o gozan todos los Individuos que forman esta eroica Monarquia mas por lo tanto deben seg^r el Artículo 339 de la constitucion entrar en el cupa de las contribuciones segun/ sus facultades sin excepcion ni privilegio alguno. Que el senalar y aprobar el repar/timiento de estas toca y pertenece seg^r el articulo 335 a las Juntas provinciales/ que ha un no se han establecido y que sugetan al indio desde el dia p^r su igualacion con el es/panol a todas las contribuciones que se exigen de este y en el modo y forma que se quiere/ recaudar era expuesta y arriesgado aturbarla quietud de las provincias por ser obra/ lenta del Exemplo y la ilustracion desarraigarlo de sus antiguas practicas/ y costumbres y de sutenar [sic] adhesion a no repararse de lo que ejecutaron/ (fo. 202) sus mayores, Que la indagacion individual era sino imposible a lo menos muy dilatada y el/ dia y las urgencias actuales no daban lugar a esas esperas q^o produirian que en/ tanto se mantuviese el Indio sin satisfacer ni los tributos ni los Drós: como se halla en el dia/ y desde la publicacion de la gracia concedida p^r las Cortes Geñ. y q^o consiliandose todos/ los inconvenientes que p^r una y otra parte se han ponderado con admitir la volun/tad y oferta q^o hizieron los Partidos o comunidades de continuar no en la paga/ del tributo pues este nombre es incompatible con la dignidad de ciudadano Espa/nol sino con el entero de esa Cantidad que se titurara contribi^o provisional en el entre/ tanto q^o se extendi el reglam^{to} Gen^l q^o a todos comprenda no faltando en nada/ esta determinacion a la sansionado p^r los Articulos de la constituc^o relativos/ a los privilegios y distinciones de la nacion Indica, pues q^o solo es un inter/ no metodo p^a el cobro de los Derechos que son debidos al Estado y el/ que siendo voluntaria aparta toda idea de coaccion y violencia ma/nifestandose la Espontaneidad individual del pago en el mismo hecho de estar en libertad toda/ Provincia Partido o Aylo de satisfacer las contribuciones establecidas en la cantidad y modo/ con q^o se exigen de los demas Ciudadanos Espanoles o en el provincial medio q^o ellas/ mismas han adoptado p^a lo que se circulara esta providencia p^r medio de los SS. Intend^{tes} de Provincia muy Rever^{do} Arzobispo y RR. Obispos para q^o aciendoles enteren/ a los Indios p^r conducto de los subdelegados y curas Parrocos estar libres de la obliga/cion de pagar tributo y en su arbitrio y voluntad elegir a la satisfacion de/ esta cantidad como contribucion provicional enterandola en el tiempo debido y/ correspondiente al proximo Semestre de Navidad o el pago de Derechos y demas pensiones/ q^o contribuyen los demas Espanoles debiendose activar el Exped^{te} Sobre extincion/ de Mita y exterminio de los abusos y vejámenes q^o p^r razon de este cobro y qual/ quiera otra causa han dado motivo a las quejas y reclamos q^o se han expuesto a la/ superioridad q^o Ya de antemano se ordeno en acta de 11 de Julio de este presente/ ano y Dec^{to} de 13 del mismo en q^o se encargo al S^r Contador Gen^l de tri/ butos promoviera en Expediente separado estos tan esenciales puntos p^a su resoluca^o y p^a el mismo efecto publicuese en la Gazeta de Gobierno y sacan/ dose testimonio del Exped^{te} se de cuenta al Serenisimo Consejo de Regencia p^a que lo traslade al Soverano Congreso Nacional y lo firmaron=El Marq^o de la/ Concordia—Bartolome Arzobispo de Lima—El conde de Vista florida—Jose Vic^{te} Ob^o el^{te} de Huamanga—Juan del Pino Manrique—Fran^{co} Xav^r Moreno Escandon—Ma/nuel M^a del Valle—Tomas Ignacio Palomeque—Juan Oyarzabar Juan Bazo/ y Berri—Jose Pareja y Cortes—Mig^l de Eyzaguirre—Pedro de Salduegui—El Mar/ ques de Valde Lirios—Fernando Zambrano—Juan M^a de Galvez—Juan Jose de Leuro/ Joaquin Bonet—El Marq^o de Torre Tagle—Andres Salazar—Ignacio Mier—Matias/ de Querejas—Antonio de Elizalde—Man^l Agustín de la Torre—Ant^o Alvarez de/ Villar—Fran^{co} Xabier de Yzque—Antonio Alvarez—Pedro Man^l Bazo/ Pedro Truxillo—Antonio Izquierdo Martines—Domingo Ant^o de Lainfiesta/ Joaquin Bonet—Secretario— Lima 16 de noviembre de 1812—Guar-desese/ y cumplase lo resuelto en Junta Gen^l de tribunales y en su consecuencia / sacandose copias certificadas de esta acta y este Dec^{to} circulense con el correspond^{te} al M R S Arzobispo R R Obispos y Senores Intend^{tes} / de Prov^o p^a los efectos q^o en ella se indican tomandose razon en el R^l tri/ bunal de Ctás. Caxas Matrices y Cont^a Gen^l de tributos y sacandose/ testimonio de este Exped^{te} dese cuenta al serenissimo Consejo de Regencia—/ Concordia—Toribio de Acibal—Es topia que se tomo razon en esta/Caxa Matriz Lima Dic^r 4 de 1812.

¹⁰ Dancuart, vol. 1, 1905, pp. 60–61. The particular debate concerned Article 22 of the Constitution then projected, an article excluding the *castas* from civil and political rights in America.

With the abolition of tribute and of the *mita* and with the recognition of the rights and duties of all classes of Colonial population upon a footing of equality, the way was paved toward universal taxation, under the Colonial government and before its collapse.

In 1815 taxes were again levied under the Intendencies from the Indian population (Matranya y Ricci, 1819, vol. 1, p. 519, No. 2979). At this time the offensive term, *tributo de indios*, was replaced by the euphemism *contribución*, which persists in modern usage. It is usually identified with Republican taxation, although it is manifestly a Late Colonial verbal transformation.

REPUBLICAN TAXATION, 1826-54

For all its intricate legislative meanders, the underlying pattern of Peruvian taxation from 1826 to 1854 consists of only two themes: (1) the *contribución de indígenas*, a personal tax on Indians, identical in every way with Colonial tribute; and (2) the personal, property, or income tax on non-Indians, generically termed the *contribución de castas*.

In principle the *contribución de castas* extended to all Peruvians the Indian tribute tax of Colonial days, under two functional headings: (a) the traditional personal head tax, and (b) the new income and property taxes, which exempted the taxpayer from the personal head tax only if equal to or greater than the head tax.

In practice, three distinct taxes applied to the *castas*: (1) *contribución general*, or personal tax, identical to Colonial tribute; (2) property tax and tax on income from property, called *contribución de predios rústicos y urbanos*; (3) *contribución de patentes* (or *gremios*), an income tax on the exercise of a craft.

The term *casta* is a bewildering tangle of fiscal, sociological, and racial concepts. In general Peruvian use it probably signified "non-Indian" and included whites, Negroes, mestizos, and races other than "Indian." Usually, however, the term applies so directly to the mestizo component, as to equate mestizo and *casta*, insofar as "racial" usage is concerned. On the other hand, social class and vocation are implicit in the term. By social class and by vocation, the term *casta* signified the day laborer, the industrial worker, the miner, and the artisan, in a group concept commonly understood today by the term "proletariat"

The subtitle of a pamphlet of 1815 candidly explains the transformation. Composed by an Intendent of the Army, the writing instructs tax collectors upon methods for gathering "that which the Indians are to pay as single tax, in the same amount that they previously satisfied in tribute."¹¹

The decree of 1815 restored ordinances and tax rates as of 1808. It brought relief to the 4-year period of fiscal anarchy that had prevailed since the abolition of Indian tribute in 1811. It also equated *única contribución*, as levied upon Indians, with the duties and services performed for the Crown by the Spaniards "and other races" (Leuro, 1815, p. 4).

(Dancuart, 1903-1905, vol. 1, pp. 60-61). Here the Indian was excluded by his membership in an agrarian commune, and by his traditional tenure of land. Fiscally, the term *casta* included all individuals not booked upon the Indian tax lists. By fiscal usage all city population, all mobile population, all tenant farmers, and all landowners outside the Indian communes were included. In both "racial" and fiscal usage, the term signified "non-Indian." Among all the "racial," social, and fiscal classes included by the term, the Spaniards and other European immigrants, and the Peruvian "whites" were a small minority.¹² The great majority of the *castas* were also designated as mestizos. In general usage, *casta* was principally but not entirely identical with the term "mestizo." It is therefore permissible to use the three terms interchangeably: *casta*, mestizo, and non-Indian—in the nineteenth-century senses of the words.

THE CONTRIBUCIÓN DE INDÍGENAS

This personal tax on the labor of Indians was essentially a tax on biological existence. Of the early Republican taxes, it was the least subject to

¹¹ Leuro, 1815. A copy of this very rare pamphlet is in AHMH. (See Schwab, 1947, No. 1657a.)

¹² Classified figures for the "white" population of Peru are available only for 1795 and 1876:

	Total	White (number)	White (percent)
1795.....	1,076,173	135,755	12.61
1876.....	2,699,945	371,195	13.75

In 1940 the figures for whites and mestizos were listed together without distinction. In 1795 and 1876, the great majority of those listed as whites probably enjoyed the classification then as today for economic and geographic reasons. "White" is a caste designation in Peru, relating to economic class and occupation, rather than to biological character.

change. It was regulated and collected according to the Ordinances of 1784. From 1826 to 1854, the rate was occasionally altered, as in 1826 and again in 1829.¹³ The methods of accountancy and of ministerial staff organization were in constant flux. Some exemptions were allowed: to males under 18 and over 50; to village officials, church servants, and postmasters. Certain provinces were occasionally exempted (e. g., Huaylas and Santa in 1840) for short periods in reward for exceptional military assistance during the frequent *coups d'état* of the time.¹⁴

About a quarter of the income of the State came from the *contribución de indígenas* alone.¹⁵ For at least 25 years, the entire operating expenses of the departmental governments were defrayed out of the proceeds from the tax (Oviedo, 1870, vol. 15, p. 2 n; Nos. 59, 60, 117, 124).

The declarations of President Ramón Castilla, upon the abolition of the tax on July 5, 1854, give a measure of the odium in which it had been held. Castilla said that Independence had been an empty name to most Peruvians, chiefly because of the personal tax on Indians. But Providence had now filled the coffers of the State with the extraordinary income from guano exploitation, in such measure as to relieve the deficit of the Treasury.¹⁶

The *contribución de indígenas* continued nevertheless to be exacted illegally in some provinces. In 1859 Mariano Herencia Zevallos led a rebellion in Cuzco Province with money raised by this means.¹⁷

¹³ The texts of the main decrees bearing upon taxation are printed in Oviedo, 1870, vol. 15, pp. 300-421. Other decrees not known to Oviedo appear throughout the MS. series of papers cataloged under O. L. in AHMH.

On the Bolivian equivalent of the *contribución de indígenas*, see Sotomayor Valdés, 1874, pp. 521 ff.

¹⁴ Oviedo, 1870, vol. 15, Nos. 438, 451. Cf. MS. decrees exempting various towns from tax, AHMH, O. L. 275/29 (Piura towns); O. L. 307/3 (towns in Huamanga Province exempted 1844).

¹⁵ The budget for 1848-49 shows anticipated income of 10,644,846 pesos, of which 2,653,862, or 24.93 percent, were to be collected in *contribuciones de indígenas*. The budget of 1848-49 is said to be the first formal budget prepared in Peru: a printed copy is in AHMH (*Presupuesto General* 1849, O. L. 351/266). (For other figures on annual expenditure and income of the State, see Dancuart, 1903-05, vol. 4, p. 49; vol. 5, p. 51. Cf. Basadre, 1946, vol. 1, p. 280.)

¹⁶ Oviedo, 1870, vol. 15, No. 491. Further bibliography on guano exploitation in Kubler, 1948.

According to Tavera, 1856, table 4, the income of the State from all sources in 1855 was as follows:

	Pesos
Guano.....	8,610,000
Customs.....	3,112,056
Taxes.....	289,979
Miscellaneous.....	797,964

The revenue from guano alone was more than double the income from all other sources.

¹⁷ Oviedo, 1870, vol. 15, No. 496. On taxation after 1854, see Sánchez Espinosa, 1944.

THE CONTRIBUCIÓN GENERAL DE CASTAS

Always unpopular, and always failing to produce the expected income, this personal tax on the *castas* became a perpetual political toy. Each new usurper was likely to abolish the tax to gain popular favor. And each new usurper collected the tax surreptitiously until the new form of the old law was again promulgated. For instance, Antonio Gutiérrez de la Fuente, then "Jefe Supremo Provisorio" of the Republic, abolished the *contribución general* on July 18, 1829,¹⁸ but the operations of the tax collectors do not betray their obedience to his orders.

Felipe Santiago Salaverry, the *Jefe Supremo* in 1835, again annulled the *contribución general* on March 20 of that year. In 1839 he abolished it again, after an interlude from power. Salaverry then declared that the tax was odious because it had weighed only "upon miserable persons, whose resources hardly suffice to maintain the bare necessities of life" (Oviedo, 1870, vol. 15, No. 442). Again the tax collectors continued to gather the fraction of the levy that their ingenuity permitted them to extort from the *castas*, although the law of 1839 was not abrogated until the executive decree of 1842.

By a verbal transformation, the same tax continued to be collected under a new, and this time, even less popular name. The decree of 1842 legislated that every Peruvian not classified as an Indian was to be matriculated as a *jornalero* or day laborer, and taxed at the rate of 3 pesos 4 reales annually.¹⁹ The rate split the difference between the extreme rates of the former "personal" tax. By September 23, 1845, the *contribución de industria jornalera*, in turn, was abrogated as illegal and oppressive, this time by the Congreso Constitucional, although collections were currently in progress throughout the Republic.²⁰

From the matriculations for all provinces it is clear that the personal tax was collected from non-Indians at all times between 1826 and 1854. The name of the tax varied expediently, and the collections were never an impressive source of revenue,

¹⁸ Oviedo, 1870, vol. 15, No. 402. Broadside of decree: AHMH, O. L. 182/37. Official MS. copy, O. L. 182/24.

¹⁹ Dancuart, 1903, III, p. 54. The text of this *decreto supremo* is lacking in AHMH, and was not printed in any collection of decrees available to Dancuart.

²⁰ MS. decrees. AHMH, O. L. 315/5. Cf. Oviedo, 1870, vol. 15, No. 473, March 16, 1847.

but the non-Indian population was regularly counted and matriculated.

About 1836-40 the term *casta* began to be replaced by other designations. Especially common from 1840 to 1854 was the rubric of *predios e industria*. This shift from a racial designation, to denomination by landed and artisan groups, did not affect the validity of the head count in the later period. All non-Indians continued to be enumerated, often with the designation as *casta*, and as "sin bienes ni industria" if the personal tax could be invoked against the individual who owned no property. In general, the shift from the racial to an occupational classification of non-Indians did not greatly lessen the value of the tax registers as demographic sources.

CONTRIBUCIÓN DE PREDIOS E INDUSTRIA

It has just been seen that this tax was originally an alternate category in the taxation of non-Indians, directed at the landowners and wage laborers. Until about 1840 the registers of these taxpayers were included in the general *matrículas de castas*. Then, to counter the opposition aroused by the personal tax on non-Indians, and with the verbal transformations of the personal tax, the *contribución de predios e industria* became the rubric under which the head count of all non-Indian inhabitants of Peru was conducted. A glance at table 1 shows the relationship between the registers of *castas*, and the registers of *predios e industria*. The latter are numerous only after 1840; the former appear in numbers before 1840. Both served the same function; both are essentially identical, in that they enumerate non-Indian population, less for the hopeless task of collecting revenue, than for maintaining some census of the non-Indian inhabitants.

THE CONTRIBUCIÓN DE PATENTES

We pointed out in the section on the fiscal aspects of Early Republican taxation, that the levies upon the artisans were ineffective everywhere but in Lima and the largest cities. The Archivo Histórico nevertheless contains many registers of this sort for cities of various sizes. These registers give the numbers, the professional

ratings, and the annual estimated incomes of the various guilds of craftsmen and professional people. As stated in the Preface, the detailed study of such registers is not embraced by the scope of the present work. It may be noted here, however, that on March 3, 1835, the *contribución de patentes* was abolished without substitute, until June of the same year, when it was restored under the guise of the *alcabala de gremios*, or guild tax, whereby the individual craftsmen were taxed indirectly through their professional organizations.²¹

The registers of all periods clearly show that prosperous craftsmen in the cities preferred to be listed as indigents, under the personal tax, rather than as liable for the tax of 4 percent on income from the exercise of a craft. Thus in Cotabambas Province in 1830:²² among 1,472 taxpayers, only 169 were declared as property owners and craftsmen. In Huamálles Province in 1841,²³ only 116 individuals among 2,942 taxpayers declared themselves as possessing lucrative occupation. All others were listed as "sin bienes ni industria," and as paying only the personal tax, then 3 pesos annually. Even with these limitations the registers are valuable sources for the economic history of Peru. For instance, in the Villa of Abancay in 1836,²⁴ the following occupations are listed: Seven landowners, five estate managers, four muledrivers, four storekeepers, one silversmith, one tailor, and one blacksmith. The figures indicate only the professionals whose entire activity was patently given to a specialty. The figures take no account of the innumerable part-time craftsmen who compose the characteristic urban population of home industries in present-day Peru, and who surely composed it also in the nineteenth century.

²¹ MS. decree. AHMH, O. L. 237/36. Serra reviewed the course of this tax to 1831 in his succinct "Memorias" (MS., AHMH, Q. L. 216/367).

²² MS., "Matricula de Castas de la Provincia de Cotabambas, Departamento del Cuzco," AHMH, R. 0104. 130 fos.

Cf. the unsigned account, probably based upon an *informe* written by a tax collector, published in *Minerva del Cuzco*, January 28, 1832, vol. 30, No. 22: "La contribución de castas se hace difícil. Los blancos tienen repugnancia por ella; al contrario los indígenas son puntuales. Los primeros prefieren enrolosarse en el ejército para eximirse de pagar la contribución." Note the identification of *castas* and *blancos*, which amounts to an identification of mestizo with white in one caste.

²³ MS., "Matricula de Castas y acotacion de Patentes e Industria de la Provincia de Huamálles, Dep. de Junín," AHMH, R. 0265. 523 pp.

²⁴ MS., "Matricula de predios e industriales de la Prov^a de Abancay actuada en el año de 1836," AHMH, R. 0195. 9 fos.

TABLE 1.—*Peruvian tax registers to 1854, classified by levy, year, and province*¹

Provinces	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833	1834	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854
Abancay		/				\									/						*							/		
Andahuaylas		/										x					x				*									
Anta		/				\															*									
Arequipa				\																										
Arica			/																											
Almaraz		<																												
Asángaro												x								x								/		
Cailloma																				x										
Cajamarca		/																					\							
Cajatambo																														
Calca ²						/						\									*		\				/			
Callao																														
Camaná				\																										
Canas																					/									
Canchis																														
Cañete																														
Canta																														
Carabaya		\				x				/																/				
Castrovirreyna						\						\						\				\								
Cerro de Pasco																														
Chachapoyas													/																	
Chancay																														
Chota						/								\										x						
Chucuito																														
Chumbivilcas						>																								
Conchucos Bajo																														
Condesuyos																														
Cotabambas		\				\	/				\																			
Cuzco																														
Huamachuco		\																												
Huamallies						x											x												\	
Huamanga						x																								
Huancané		/				x																				*				
Huancavelica		/	\			<																								
Huánuco		/		x		<																								
Huari												/							/				x							
Huarochari						\						x									\								\	
Huaylas																\	\				\			\						
Ica						x										\					\			\						
Jaén																														
Jauja											x		\			\					*	\			\					
Lampa																														
Lima																														
Lucanas						x																								
Luya																														
Moquegua																														
Parinacochas		\										>										x						/		
Paruro						\	/																\							
Pataz											/	>	\						\											
Paucartambo	/																				\						/			
Quispicanchis		x				x					\		/																	
Santa		\											/				\							\						
Tacna						/																								
Tarapacá																														
Tayacaja		/				/										x	\				x	\								
Trujillo																														
Unión		\				x															/	\							*	
Urubamba		x				x																								
Yauyos		/										\																		

¹ / = castas; \ = indígenas; | = predios e industria; x = castas and indígenas; * = indígenas and predios e industria.² In 1951 when this report was already in press the writer encountered the following volume in the conventual archive of San Francisco in Cuzco: "Matrícula de Indios de Calca del Año de 1820."

THE WORKING FIGURES, 1795-1940

The evidence is of two classes. The official and unofficial census reports compose the body of published materials, which must be rearranged to show population changes for uniform areas. In the census reports now known, the provincial units of territory for which the populations are listed, were in constant change. The changes always divide an increasing population into smaller provinces. By reference to legislation on provincial boundaries, as compiled by Tarazona (1946), it is possible to establish uniform and comparable territorial units for any spread of time within our scope. These territorial comparisons are presented in the maps of the next chapter. Here the raw materials of the actual census reports, insofar as they cite the numbers composing each caste, are reduced as much as possible to tables based on constant territorial units.

The other class of evidence consists of the unpublished tax reports from the period 1826-54. These tax reports, when prepared for demographic study, yield knowledge that was heretofore lacking on population changes between 1795 and the official census of 1876. The tax reports themselves are far too cumbersome for reproduction. Instead, abstracts by Indian and non-Indian castes in the various districts of each province have been prepared. Table 2 presents these comparative digests, which all are scaled to the provincial boundaries of the period 1826-54. For purposes of generalization, the information from the census of 1876, as well as the census of 1940, is also tabulated, again in respect to the provincial boundaries of the period 1826 to 1854. It did not seem appropriate to base these territorial units upon the provincial divisions of 1795, for the census of 1795 is better used as a comparison to 1826/54 than as a point of departure. The census of 1795 merely gives provincial totals, without district subtotals. The tax reports of 1826-54, on the other hand, are arranged by districts, which allows their comparison with the later reports of 1876 and 1940. In theory the maps might have been based upon provincial units as of 1940, were it not that so

many district boundaries are of undetermined extent prior to 1876.

Table 3 shows further elaborations of the evidence. Table 2 represents the extended digest of tax-record information, scaled to uniform territories, and carried from 1826/54 to 1940. Table 3 carries the analysis of the material a step further, by giving percentages in the composition of the population of an area at various moments, and by incorporating numerous bits of information drawn from published census reports and from occasional newspaper articles of the period.

PROVINCIAL CASTE TOTALS (1826/54-1940) ARRANGED BY TERRITORIAL UNITS AS OF 1826/54 (TABLE 2)

The tax collectors were frequently men of limited education. Their additions are usually incorrect, both in district subtotals, and in provincial totals. Their difficulties were compounded by the official requirement that they subtract from the total population the old and infirm people exempted by law from the payment of taxes. Hence the tabulated totals often differ widely from the totals as added by the tax collectors in the summary pages at the end of each *matricula*. We have here distinguished between the "added total," as calculated by machine, and the total recorded as "text total" and given by the collector. Of the two, the "added total" is more nearly correct, for it represents the actual head count, rather than the collector's estimate of taxable individuals. The absence of a text total means that none is available.

Immediately beneath the date at the head of each column, unless otherwise noted, is the catalog number at the Archivo Histórico of each item abstracted. Under the columns for 1876 and 1940, the reference is always to the complete published figures for these years. In the case of the census of 1876, it is to the relevant section of the seven-volume *Censo General*; and in the case of 1940, it is to the appropriate section of the eight-volume *Censo Nacional*.

TABLE 2.—*Provincial castes, by district and date, from 1826 to 1940, arranged by territorial units as of 1826/54*

ABANCAY

District	1826		1830		1839		1845		1851		1876		1940	
	Indians	R.0044; R.0045 Others	R.0102 Indians	Others	R.0237 Indians	Others	R.0310 Indians	R.0311 Others	R.0417 Indians	R.0633 Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Abancay.....		785	352				505	365	607	339	1,891	2,894	6,013	5,945
Huanipaca.....		413	245				334	330	402	362			1,683	951
Cachora.....		267	682				1,043	72	1,173	84				
Antilla.....		94	356				455	96	484	107				
Curahuasi.....		568	399				386	165	393	147	2,427	2,533	8,080	2,003
Talroma.....			200				208		248					
Lambra.....		105			1,946		2,188	113	2,274	122	2,017	319	3,572	515
Caipa.....		48												
Circa.....		222			1,670			302	1,326	270	980	911	1,777	1,743
Huirahuacho.....		68												
Chacochi.....		43												
Pichirhua.....		195									911	1,596	2,903	1,157
Casinehuia.....		82												
Chalhuaní.....		253					531	153	380	114				
Cotarma.....		37			280									
Choñabamba.....		17												
Lucuchanga.....		133					290	36	242	52				
Luychubamba and Saracata.....		20												
Mosobamba.....		21												
San Juan Colpa.....		99					563	61	551	67				
Larata.....		98												
Added total.....		3,568			16,130		6,503	1,693	8,080	1,664	8,226	8,223	24,028	12,094
Text total.....							6,570	1,706	8,232	1,665				

¹ Both R.0102 and R.0237 are incomplete reports. When added together, they yield a complete provincial report on Indian population 1830-39.

ANDAHUAYLAS

District	1826		1836		1841		1876		1940	
	R.0041 Indians	Others	R.0180 Indians	R.0196 Others	R.0267 Indians	R.0266 Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Andahuaylas.....		1,040	1,766	433	2,089	495	2,326	2,202	10,049	3,295
Talavera.....		1,608	995	905	1,527	1,966	1,718	2,575	10,272	5,343
San Gerónimo.....		1,672	1,837	1,231	6,007	1,798	4,612	3,702	15,540	1,969
Huancarama.....		1,472	1,767	1,001	2,311	1,602	2,861	2,903	11,635	1,983
Pampachiri.....		733	1,174	446	5,320	653	3,134	1,549	6,366	812
Huayana.....		433	590	274	819	602				
Cachi.....		356	651	297	882	468			2,262	869
Huancaray.....		1,395	1,829	666	2,187	1,308	3,266	2,809	4,433	694
Chincheros.....		1,208	975	504	1,316	744	3,380	4,100	6,575	1,383
Cocharcas.....			894	714	1,082	1,000			2,194	2,071
Ongoy.....		1,417	974	442	1,235	683	2,824	186	7,691	988
Ocobamba.....			1,447	1,038	1,830	1,493	2,046	1,907	6,870	1,858
Chiara.....									2,402	172
Added total.....		11,334	14,899	7,951	26,605	12,812	26,167	21,933	86,289	21,437
Text total.....					18,926	12,201	26,167	21,933	86,289	21,437

ANTA

District	1826		1830		1845		1851		1876		1940	
	Indians	R.0044 Others	R.0102 Indians	Others	R.0373 Indians	R.0312 Others	Indians	R.0647 Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Mollepata.....		437	260		340	624		721	3,498	2,722	1,232	2,625
Limatambo.....		391	1,127		1,268	288		334			3,961	3,141
Chuyani Chonta.....		57	410		443			479				
Pivil.....		205	196		215	376						
Pantipata.....		52	762		988							
Chinchaypuquio.....		229	482		601	485		515				
Anta.....		402	3,851		4,785	463		732	5,887	2,224	12,723	3,536
Pucyura.....		182	1,266		1,422	182		351				
Huarocondo.....		184	2,515		3,004	226		312			4,642	930
Surite.....		466	3,647		4,338	379		630	5,907	1,430	5,239	1,348
Sumaro.....			296		343							
Poroy.....			177		200							
Ecclesiastics.....						7		12				
Added total.....		2,605	14,989		17,947	3,030		4,086	15,292	6,376	27,797	11,580
Text total.....					17,947			4,285			27,797	11,580

TABLE 2.—Provincial castes, by district and date, from 1826 to 1940, arranged by territorial units as of 1826/54—Continued

AREQUIPA

District	1828		1876		1940	
	R.0068 Indians	Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Yanahuara.....	1,412	-----	2,099	4,280	642	4,416
Cayma.....	677	-----	773	3,306	1,046	6,788
Tiabaya.....	575	-----	544	3,010	449	2,926
Paucarpata.....	667	-----	293	3,135	480	2,435
Characato.....	458	-----	781	2,022	122	2,318
Pocsi.....	3,119	-----	1,595	1,695	953	1,872
Chiguata.....	989	-----	791	1,564	1,178	1,986
Added total.....	7,897	-----	6,876	19,012	4,870	21,741
Text total.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

ASANGARO

District	1826		1835		1876		1940	
	R.0059; R.0058 Indians	Others	R.0183 Indians	R.0184 Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Asángaro (<i>olim</i> Vilca Apasa).....	3,870	-----	4,043	185	8,069	682	17,407	1,095
San Juan de Salinas.....	744	-----	872	-----	-----	-----	1,856	90
Urinsaya (part of Asángaro).....	1,313	-----	1,385	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Muñani.....	1,970	-----	1,997	112	2,420	252	4,749	192
Poto.....	550	-----	533	87	691	66	722	199
Putina.....	4,336	-----	4,163	292	3,435	418	6,986	552
Chupa.....	2,401	-----	2,309	166	3,195	146	9,047	339
Arapa.....	1,526	-----	1,775	78	3,700	130	8,989	521
Villa de Betanzos.....	804	-----	889	3	-----	-----	-----	-----
Samán.....	3,234	-----	3,352	82	4,442	94	8,477	224
Taraco.....	3,297	-----	-----	148	3,940	106	8,748	226
Pusi.....	936	-----	-----	103	2,052	76	4,058	335
Caminaca.....	944	-----	-----	92	1,905	53	3,438	27
Achaya.....	1,361	-----	-----	8	1,830	59	2,878	26
Santiago de Pupuja.....	4,321	-----	-----	125	4,325	100	8,245	375
Asillo.....	4,541	-----	-----	271	5,689	397	11,987	464
San José (Llaulli).....	1,893	-----	-----	76	1,853	95	3,669	63
San Antón (Huanacomayo).....	1,735	-----	-----	38	1,560	89	3,312	120
Potoni.....	1,059	-----	-----	34	1,287	113	1,805	105
Added total.....	40,835	-----	(?)	1,880	50,393	2,876	106,373	4,953
Text total.....	-----	-----	-----	1,822	-----	-----	-----	-----

* Incomplete.

AIMARAES

District	1826		1851		1876		1940	
	Indians	R.0045 Others	Indians	R. 0629 Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Chalhuanca.....	-----	1,162	-----	1,151	3,100	2,115	3,781	2,990
Pampamarca (Cotaruse).....	-----	115	-----	356	-----	-----	3,073	635
Ancobamba (Chapimarca).....	-----	178	-----	605	1,176	908	2,615	664
Tapairihua.....	-----	631	-----	1,032	860	2,676	2,015	4,475
Sarayca.....	-----	518	-----	716	-----	-----	-----	-----
Soraya (including Toraya).....	-----	869	-----	1,122	928	2,804	2,680	4,973
Colcabamba.....	-----	1,263	-----	971	991	2,628	4,525	3,995
Mollebamba.....	-----	333	-----	424	-----	-----	-----	-----
Antabamba.....	-----	619	-----	626	1,187	1,967	2,768	2,960
Huacquirca.....	-----	309	-----	377	-----	-----	-----	-----
Sabalno.....	-----	169	-----	508	827	987	1,707	1,640
Oropesa.....	-----	287	-----	432	1,046	188	1,949	493
Pachaconas.....	-----	414	-----	533	328	614	1,188	958
Ecclesiastics.....	-----	-----	-----	14	-----	-----	-----	-----
Added total.....	-----	6,857	-----	8,867	10,443	14,887	26,301	23,783
Text total.....	-----	-----	-----	8,897	10,443	14,887	26,301	23,783

TABLE 2.—*Provincial castes, by district and date, from 1826 to 1940, arranged by territorial units as of 1826/54—Continued*

CAILLOMA

District	1843		1848		1876		1940	
	R.0284 Indians	R.0286 Others	Indians	R.0370 Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Cailloma.....	1,564	147	-----	163	2,180	256	2,676	576
Tisco.....	1,909	15	-----	17	1,492	28	1,382	67
Callalli.....	1,540	41	-----	55	1,209	26	1,766	22
Sibayo.....	614	-----	-----	7	-----	-----	1,450	77
Tutli.....	491	-----	-----	-----	1,099	4	-----	-----
Chivay.....	949	48	-----	70	1,059	252	2,322	627
Canucota.....	182	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Coporaque.....	787	10	-----	15	645	18	753	96
Yanque.....	1,876	86	-----	103	1,448	170	1,989	541
Achoma.....	919	23	-----	31	698	35	1,056	139
Maca.....	896	36	-----	42	548	50	682	59
Ichupampa.....	660	-----	-----	-----	408	73	623	69
Lari.....	884	32	-----	46	747	23	989	25
Madrigal.....	799	-----	-----	-----	560	20	614	77
Tapay.....	1,413	47	-----	70	1,427	82	1,340	240
Cabanaconde.....	1,388	328	-----	383	2,109	416	2,238	722
Pinchollo.....	465	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Huambo.....	785	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	765	183
Liuta.....	220	116	-----	120	848	89	439	902
Taya.....	174	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Huanca.....	513	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1,172	856
Murco.....	141	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Yura.....	182	219	-----	448	195	637	255	775
Sihuas.....	85	1,031	-----	1,198	124	1,245	223	1,423
Added total.....	19,436	2,179	-----	2,768	16,796	3,424	22,734	7,476
Text total.....	19,343	-----	-----	2,699	-----	-----	-----	-----

CAJAMARCA

District	1826		1847		1876		1940	
	Indians	R. 0052 Others	R. 0359 Indians	Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Cajamarca.....	-----	2,672	6,678	-----	8,064	7,070	21,634	16,234
Llacanora.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	1,112	99	2,526	507
Encañada.....	-----	410	825	-----	1,491	1,397	5,262	4,488
Namora.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	334	3,658
Jesús.....	-----	1,313	2,333	-----	2,021	3,253	1,521	7,397
San Pablo.....	-----	1,425	2,589	-----	3,177	4,467	2,367	9,003
Magdalena.....	-----	144	-----	-----	724	139	183	846
San Juan.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	534	1,567
Asunción.....	-----	1,592	2,274	-----	1,482	2,761	29	5,949
Cospán.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	1,539	1,755	205	5,032
San Marcos.....	-----	2,608	738	-----	982	6,160	709	18,772
Ichocán.....	-----	1,987	295	-----	426	4,292	8	8,176
Matara.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	270	1,306	493	2,314
Contumasa.....	-----	2,198	433	-----	518	5,194	-----	-----
Provincial total.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	219	27,649
Trinidad.....	-----	258	550	-----	810	1,063	-----	-----
Guzmango.....	-----	260	1,054	-----	1,436	1,082	-----	-----
Casca.....	-----	567	329	-----	356	2,918	-----	-----
Celendín.....	-----	3,732	1,468	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Provincial total.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	1,802	11,800	630	39,295
Sorochuco.....	-----	680	626	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Chetilla.....	-----	-----	1,687	-----	1,520	52	2,887	435
Ecclesiastics.....	-----	32	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Added total.....	-----	19,878	21,879	-----	27,730	54,808	39,541	151,322
Text total.....	-----	-----	23,426	-----	27,730	54,808	39,541	151,322

TABLE 2.—Provincial castes, by district and date, from 1826 to 1940, arranged by territorial units as of 1826/54—Continued

CAJATAMBO						
District	1838		1876		1940	
	Indians	R. 0346 Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Provincia de Cajatambo.....		1,839				
Cochamarca.....			768	25	1,394	101
Huasta.....			828	831	1,410	1,360
Acas.....			870	33	1,228	317
Aquila.....			625	782	1,308	1,408
Chiquián.....			1,150	987	1,161	2,383
Districto de Cajatambo.....		1,144	1,499	1,313	1,264	3,206
Tiellos.....		313	1,908	528	1,088	832
Cajamarquilla.....					1,213	304
Gorgor.....		1,468	436	1,618	499	2,132
Huancapón.....			858	278	951	876
Manás.....					835	357
Mangas.....		191	1,794	1	825	275
Pacllón.....			1,045	98	986	180
Ocos.....		997	1,082	1,140	1,821	2,816
Copa.....					393	660
Cajacay.....		1,000	973	785	1,259	1,781
Huallacayán.....			1,190	255	909	994
Cochas.....		242	131	244	158	769
Andajes.....		631	477	388	1,021	372
Caujul.....			693	361	588	1,231
Oyón.....			2,238	632	3,927	1,403
Pachangará.....			1,149	155	486	1,363
Churín.....		1,103				
Ambar.....		485	685	182	1,205	1,168
Added total.....		9,413	20,399	10,636	25,929	26,378
Text total.....		9,240				

CALCA												
District	1830		1836		1845		1851		1876		1940	
	Indians	R. 0103 Others	R. 0198 Indians	Others	R. 0316 Indians	R. 0317 Others	R. 0418 Indians	Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Calca.....		178	2,191		2,385	232	2,468		5,353	1,523	7,842	5,113
Lamay.....		67	1,427		1,408	149	1,438					
Chuquibamba.....		45										
Coya.....		24	1,047		1,104	98	1,223					
Chinchero.....		16	2,701		3,037	6	3,054					
Umasbamba.....			826		907		909					
Pisac.....		75	2,166		2,462	168	2,645		3,685	789	9,644	1,513
Taray.....		49	903		1,148	124	1,277					
San Salvador.....			1,551		1,711	193	1,801					
Lares.....		443	3,660		2,676	591	2,691		1,979	767	5,704	3,962
Ecclesiastics.....		9				11						
Added total.....		906	16,472		16,838	1,572	17,486		11,017	3,069	23,190	10,588
Text total.....			14,565		16,853	1,572	17,394		11,017	3,069	23,190	10,588

CANAS						
District	1845		1876		1940	
	Indians	R. 0317 Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Yanacca.....		24	3,403	298	6,678	560
Checca.....		55	3,435	221	4,782	234
Layo.....		31	1,908	249	3,894	209
Pampamarca.....					3,521	1,074
Quehue.....					1,930	107
Langul.....		63	2,491	557	2,996	954
Pichigua.....		49	2,999	252	3,764	324
Pallpata.....					2,056	115
Coporaque.....		23	7,946	213	10,153	167
Yauri (Espinar).....		44	10,607	316	11,806	658
Condoroma.....		15			784	102
Ocoruro.....			931	40	1,290	116
Ecclesiastics.....		12				
Added total.....		316	33,720	2,146	53,654	4,610
Text total.....						

TABLE 2.—Provincial castes, by district and date, from 1826 to 1940, arranged by territorial units as of 1826/54—Continued

CANTA

District	1813		1876		1940	
	Archivo Arzobispal, Lima		Indians	Others	Indians	Others
	Indians	Others				
Atavillos Alto.....	851	65	1,345	250	1,153	1,086
Atavillos Bajo.....	1,222	18	1,751	17	779	1,460
Canta.....	974	575	2,389	523	1,313	3,860
Huamantanga.....	1,982	861	3,544	446	1,006	3,289
Sumbilca.....					1,549	1,195
Lampán.....	661	400	1,697	59	694	1,937
Parí-Pacaraos.....	744	116	1,676	10	1,236	1,837
Arahuay.....			1,257	152	945	1,950
San Buenaventura.....	579	385	1,319	215	1,076	1,600
Added total.....	7,013	2,420	14,978	1,672	9,751	18,214
Text total.....					9,751	18,214

CARABAYA

District	1826		1830		1834		1850		1876		1940	
	R.0056 Indians	Others	R.0119 Indians	R.0120 Others	Indians	R.0169 Others	R.0404 Indians	Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Sandia.....	5,494		4,808	284		423	2,876		3,889	863	10,259	1,524
Patambuco.....				107		140	1,286		1,285	278	2,267	463
Quilaca.....	846		771	29		50	529		734	82	1,192	168
Sina.....				65		120	479		569	207	608	260
Phara.....	1,376		1,318	128		174	1,573		1,490	315	1,861	305
Crucero.....				44		82	1,243		996	134	1,855	223
Coasa.....	3,959		3,836	92		126	1,839		1,553	194	2,776	979
Usicayos.....				39		42	986		743	58	1,700	196
Ayapata.....	3,754		4,021	152		310	2,320		1,785	373	2,375	578
Ajoyani.....				10		8	369		282	78	646	59
Macusani.....	2,598		2,600	140		185	1,271		1,180	279	2,537	443
Ituata.....				26		54	1,931		1,516	77	1,914	366
Corani.....				66		76	1,000		897	77	1,866	237
Ollachea.....				15		52	974		904	95	1,769	390
Cuyo-Cuyo.....							1,866		2,206	46	2,866	214
Added total.....	18,027		17,354	1,197		1,842	20,542		20,029	3,156	36,491	6,405
Text total.....							20,652					

CASTROVIRREYNA

District	1830		1836		1841		1846		1876		1940	
	R.0093 Indians	Others	R.0204 Indians	Others	R.0260 Indians	Others	R.0350 Indians	Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Castrovirreyna.....	966		957		817		949		1,183	53	1,568	948
Huachos (and Cocas).....	690		757		759		882		1,279		2,898	3,837
Arma (and Tantará).....	830		878		896		902		1,633		1,688	1,963
Chavín.....	1,282		1,304		1,316		1,370		1,493		2,682	509
Huangáscar.....	834		881		897		958		1,231	2	1,022	1,821
Huaitará (and Tambo).....	1,038		1,089		1,098		1,370		913	32	3,781	2,613
Santiago de Chocorvos.....	1,597		1,631		1,663		1,762		2,227	4	5,224	1,976
Cordova (and Ocoyo).....	1,656		1,491		1,564		2,057		3,270		4,815	3,455
Pilpichaca.....	1,177		1,176		1,286		1,394		1,457	25	3,274	243
Arahuá and Tierapo.....											1,358	1,699
Added total.....	10,070		10,164		10,296		11,644		14,686	116	28,310	19,064
Text total.....	10,019		10,144		10,286		11,654					

TABLE 2.—Provincial castes, by district and date, from 1826 to 1940, arranged by territorial units as of 1826/54—Continued

CHACHAPOYAS						
District	1837-38		1876		1940	
	Indians	R.0211 Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Chachapoyas, Provincial total			7,725	9,169	8,775	11,943
Chachapoyas, City		2,055				
Leimebamba		200				
Chuquibamba		35				
Balsas		96				
Jalca		45				
Levanto		69				
Ollereros		410				
Vituya		18				
Rodríguez de Mendoza, Provincial total					69	8,223
Huayabamba		1,644				
Bongará, Provincial total			2,882	462	2,516	4,595
Chisquilla		60				
San Carlos		238				
Olto		250				
Luya, Provincial total			7,594	6,452	1,906	27,038
Hatun Luya		610				
Ocalli		586				
Pisquilia		275				
Santo Tomas		554				
Bagua Grande		587				
Bagua Chica		31				
Yamón		658				
Added total		8,421	18,201	16,083	13,266	51,799
Text totals						

CHANCAY								
Distriet	1936		1848 Bibl. Nac., Lima		1876		1940	
	Indians	R.0205 Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Pativilca				205	436	2,758	1,346	9,399
Barranca		237	521	260	1,165	1,324	2,427	4,062
Supe		632	525	409	958	1,594	1,513	5,957
Huaura		1,090	296	234	720	2,488	2,505	5,774
Huacho		190	4,763	161	7,661	1,656	9,792	16,683
Sayán		632	160	188	552	1,636	1,535	2,727
Checras		851	1,203	938	1,358	1,308	2,733	1,698
Racche			1,291	544				
Inuarí		41	1,297	62	1,421	158	2,507	384
Chancay		388	432	380	1,300	3,442	3,083	20,044
Aucallama			24	50	234	1,613		
Paccho		606			2,098	560	3,193	948
Added total		4,667	10,512	3,431	17,903	18,537	30,634	98,310
Text totals		5,585	10,512	3,431				

CHOTA								
District	1831		1838		1876		1940	
	Indians	R.0139; R.0140 Others	R.0228 Indians	R.0228 Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Chota, Provincial total					15,595	35,421	2,436	92,548
Chota		5,909	4,014					
Tacabamba		2,756	1,010					
Pion		156	777					
Cachen		1,523	978					
Huambos		3,105	2,274					
Hualgayoc, Provincial total					15,814	31,484	5,292	88,866
Santa Cruz		1,410	1,797					
Niepos		767	942					
San Miguel		2,420	2,382					
Hualgayoc		3,846	302					
Bambamarca		2,155	2,271					
Cutervo		2,405	2,688				301	18,484
Socota							44	6,218
Llama		1,053	337					
Added total		27,505	19,772		31,409	66,905	8,073	206,116
Text total			19,859	33,916				

TABLE 2.—*Provincial castes, by district and date, from 1826 to 1940, arranged by territorial units as of 1826/54—Continued*

CHUCUITO

District	1826		1853		1876		1940	
	R.R. EE. 5-7 Indians	Others	R.040 Indians	Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Chucuito.....			7,313		6,689	192	14,845	262
Asunción.....	1,819							
Santo Domingo.....	3,282							
Pichacani.....	1,680		2,019		1,899	130	3,108	181
Acora.....			10,039		7,738	451	25,709	919
San Juan.....	3,103							
San Pedro.....	5,230							
Ilave.....			10,941		10,749	315	28,966	962
San Miguel.....	3,081							
Santa Barbara.....	3,791							
Santa Rosa.....			1,470		1,426	107	2,911	234
Huacullani.....			2,100		1,890	58	3,555	182
Juli.....			4,590		5,534	407	15,467	1,016
Sales.....			1,964					
Pomata.....			4,970		3,441	271	12,577	917
Zepita.....			2,934		7,965	247	17,016	783
San Pedro.....			5,388					
Desaguadero.....			1,877		809	128	2,182	295
Pisacoma.....			1,903		1,148	37	2,564	210
Yunguyo.....					7,221	600	18,855	1,446
Asunción.....			4,991					
Magdalena.....			3,769					
Added total.....	22,586		67,268		56,509	2,943	147,755	7,407
Text total.....	(*)		66,729					

* Incomplete.

CHUMBIVILCAS

District	1830		1876		1940	
	R.0105 Indians	Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Velille.....	1,849		1,148	416	4,283	634
Livitaca.....	3,775				5,010	2,279
Chamaca.....	1,182		1,611	94	3,407	732
Ccapacamarca.....	207		786	408	2,181	1,289
Colquemarca.....	1,829		5,764	250	5,936	1,391
Llusco.....	1,375		6,259	392	5,474	1,098
Santo Tomás.....	1,091				10,489	1,262
Hancocoy Condes.....	786					
Alca.....	1,733		5,321	1,542	1,890	1,182
Tomepampa.....	419		298	636	549	762
Cotahuasi.....	735		1,071	1,887	1,318	2,035
Toro.....	408		495	1,011	950	754
Added total.....	15,389		22,753	6,636	41,487	13,418
Text totals.....	16,952					

CONCHUCOS

District	1830		1876		1940	
	Indians	R.0112 Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Piscobamba.....		6,490	6,708	8,647	13,563	5,093
Pomabamba.....		3,839	3,347	6,772	14,246	5,188
Sihuas.....		2,330	3,287	6,320	8,470	8,632
Pallasca.....		1,844	3,317	3,968	6,571	7,306
Cabana.....		1,136	672	3,055	948	5,562
Tauca.....		1,262	451	2,690	1,761	2,099
Llao.....		955	185	2,306	532	3,377
Corongo.....		1,816	2,391	3,590	2,295	6,299
Parobamba.....			3,964	3,896	6,677	3,359
Added totals.....		19,672	24,322	41,244	55,063	46,915
Text total.....		20,165				

TABLE 2.—Provincial castes, by district and date, from 1826 to 1940, arranged by territorial units as of 1826/54—Continued

COTABAMBAS

District	1826		1831	1830	1835		1876		1940	
	R.0047 Indians	Others	R.0084 Indians	R.0104 Others	R.0203 Indians	Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Cotabambas.....							2,933	1,312	6,502	2,771
San Juan Totora.....	1,173		1,044	295	1,135					
Ccoyllurqui.....	769		849	511	883					
Pituanca.....	609		643	306	571					
Huailati.....	2,217		2,568	1,196	2,619		2,757	915	4,958	5,149
Ayrihuana.....	830		986	911	1,009					
Chuquibambilla.....	685		931	943	963		1,766	2,992	7,120	4,005
Mamara.....	1,106		1,373	385	1,286		3,055	709	5,285	2,853
Haquira.....	2,174		734	371	750		2,349	300	6,460	1,161
Llacgua.....	1,317		1,390	228	1,257					
Mara.....	2,175		2,069	450	1,523		3,583	1,247	6,679	1,743
Plitec.....	431		452	132	435					
Palcaro.....	1,206		944	353	787					
Tambobamba.....	1,191		1,317	248	1,367		3,402	1,326	7,099	2,397
Churoc.....	464		428	36	376					
Added total.....	16,348		15,728	6,365	14,961		19,845	8,801	44,103	20,079
Text total.....	14,059		15,614	6,365	15,021		19,845	8,801	44,103	20,079

HUAMACHUCO

District	1826		1876		1940	
	R.0054 Indians	Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Huamachuco.....	4,495		7,189	8,044	3,974	11,976
Sarin.....					5,021	8,293
Sanagorán.....					1,578	5,128
Sartimbamba.....	6,936		704	2,811	3,577	3,173
Marcabal.....	2,396		1,343	1,269	1,658	2,468
Cajabamba, Provincial total.....					4,370	34,582
Cajabamba.....	3,328		8,501	10,667		
Amarcucho.....	1,607		1,603	1,388		
Added total.....	18,762		19,340	24,179	20,178	65,620
Text total.....						

HUAMALIES

District	1830		1841		1846		1852		1876		1940	
	R.0113 Indians	R.0113 Others	R.0262 Indians	R.0265 Others	Indians	R.0347 Others	R.0637 Indians	Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Huamalies, Provincial total.....											19,877	13,972
Huacrachuco.....	127	1,393	160	1,772		2,116	359		3,034	1,437		
Arancay.....	160	307	194	454		610	333		233	990		
Chavín de Paríarca.....	768	1,314	949	1,909		1,969	1,371		1,797	3,001		
Llata.....	1,394	868	1,700	1,084		1,203	2,142		3,164	1,675		
Singa.....	259	801	387	1,190		1,128	637		729	2,192		
Chuquibamba.....												
Dos de Mayo, Provincial total.....											42,483	18,405
Baños.....	1,657	855	2,139	1,127		1,142	2,653		3,937	1,641		
Jesús.....	852	283	1,010	368		347	1,245		2,272	455		
Pachas.....	1,657	1,597	4,174	2,467		2,738	5,256		1,606	1,833		
Obas.....		92							5,113	2,494		
Marañón, Provincial total.....											14,375	5,960
Huacabamba.....	161	1,571	247	2,262		3,073	531		1,618	5,219		
Ecclesiastics.....		30										
Added total.....	8,768	9,121	10,960	12,583		14,326	14,527		23,443	20,937	76,735	38,337
Text total.....	8,768	9,121	11,047	12,637			14,537					

TABLE 2.—*Provincial castes, by district and date, from 1826 to 1940, arranged by territorial units as of 1826/54—Continued*

HUAMANGA							
District	1830		1876		1940		
	R.0096 Indians	R.0094 Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others	
Carmen Alto.....					690	66	
Quinua.....	4,293	514	3,124	355	4,730	919	
Tambillo.....	3,247	47	4,037	56	5,798	603	
Chiara.....	927	16	1,636	59	2,751	614	
Santiago de Pischa.....	2,326	71	3,260	355	5,515	643	
Socos Vinchos.....			4,639	96	11,448	1,771	
Cachi Vinchos.....	2,317	86					
Acos Vinchos.....			2,939	365	5,494	583	
Chungul.....	1,414	421	1,927	2,214	3,308	674	
Anco.....	2,135	216	4,769	74	5,450	452	
Ticllac and San Juan de la Viñaca.....		26					
Ecclesiastics.....		20					
Added total.....	16,659	1,427	26,331	3,574	45,184	6,325	
Text total.....	16,758	1,409					

HUANCANE										
District	1826		1830		1850		1876		1940	
	Indians	R.0057 Others	R.0122 Indians	R.0121 Others	R.0405 Indians	Archivo Nacional uncat. Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Huancané.....		97	7,639	138	9,358	322	9,040	252	24,633	946
Santiago de Verenguelilla.....		70	1,926							
Vilque Chico.....		84	3,579	124	4,411	202	8,795	182	15,143	253
Moho.....		102	9,403	118	12,145	220	7,581	322	19,115	605
Rosaspata.....							3,494	102	6,624	190
Conima.....		40	2,689	52	3,382	130	3,117	172	7,172	221
Coata.....		52	980	41	1,404	87	1,511	133	2,927	73
Capachica.....		94	4,163	171	5,069	275	5,688	168	12,749	458
Paucarcolla.....		120	1,106	213	1,335	464	1,320	827	2,768	734
Tiquillaca.....		99	1,941	108	2,427	161	2,146	100	3,108	144
San Antonio de Esquillache.....			781	53	846	110	618	78	979	129
Santa Rosa de Chiaraque.....			585	7	559	9				
Cojata.....			2,541		3,065		2,155	357	3,238	215
San Pedro de Ichu.....			1,441		1,779					
Inchupalla.....				62	1,790	110	2,686	96	4,590	135
Puno and Huatta.....		538	2,588	461	3,212	720	4,820	2,351	17,640	7,699
Added total.....		1,296	41,362	1,548	50,782	2,810	52,971	5,140	120,686	11,802
Text total.....		1,182		1,411	50,754	2,501				

HUANCAVELICA								
District	1827		1830		1876		1940	
	R.0069 Indians	Others	Indians	R.0098 Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Huancavelica.....	201				6,307	2,002	13,681	3,724
San Antonio.....	393			599				
Santa Ana.....	1,677			39				
San Sebastian.....	1,085			77				
Asunción.....				12				
Santa Barbara.....	639			52				
Acobamba.....	3,224			330	4,963	2,724	11,027	3,597
Anta.....				146				
Andabamba (El Mántaro).....				127			9,216	1,146
Caja Quiluar.....				485	2,217	2,441	3,028	1,519
Lircay ¹				354	5,709	1,147	15,453	1,995
Callanmarca.....				10				
Acoria.....	2,324			53	8,687	69	15,864	1,519
Huando.....				172			6,579	305
Chupaca.....				45				
Añancusi.....				17				
Pallalla.....				3				
Julcamarca.....	1,771			354	4,905	2,358	9,130	3,079
Pata.....				29				
Chineho.....				116				
Llamostachi.....				1				
Huanchuy.....				27				
Conaica.....	1,052			57	2,296	42	4,195	313
Cuenca.....				132			1,918	878
Izuchaca.....				113			697	819
Moya.....	1,424			149	4,055	184	4,688	1,167
Vilcabamba.....				174				
Acobambilla.....				13			1,308	178
Manta.....				30			662	58
Added total.....	13,790			3,716	39,139	10,967	97,446	20,297
Text total.....	13,814							

¹ Lircay, according to R.0237, had 495 Indians in 1839; and according to R.0310, 1398 Indians in 1845. For purposes of computation, it is necessary to add the figure for 1839 to the total for 1827, yielding an added total for the province of 14,285 Indians.

TABLE 2.—Provincial castes, by district and date, from 1826 to 1940, arranged by territorial units as of 1826/54—Continued

HUANUCO										
District	1826		1828		1830		1876		1940	
	Indians	R. 0077 Others	R. 0053 Indians	R. 0053 Others	R. 0114 Indians	Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Huánuco, Provincial total									39,888	27,816
Huánuco, City							5,848	4,957		
Huallayco		439		510						
San Pedro		329		494						
Ucuchaca		203		242						
Mayo		235		346						
Huánuco, City, and 53 settlements			2,834							
Huánuco, City, and 30 settlements					2,068					
Chinchao							1,795	710		
Higueras							3,526	353		
Santa María del Valle				6,872			5,863	605		
S. M. del Valle and 26 settlements										
Chupaychos and 16 settlements			4,646							
Ambo, Provincial total									14,128	15,887
San Miguel de Huácar							2,445	3,294		
Huácar and 47 settlements				3,894						
Huácar and 11 settlements					1,443					
Pachitea, Provincial total									17,753	3,480
Panao							4,144	621		
Pozuzo							77	363		
Mitimas de Chinchón and 6 settlements			1,537							
Added total		1,206	9,048	5,506	10,383		23,698	10,903	71,769	47,183
Text total		(4)		5,486						

4 City only.

City only.

HUARI										
District	1836		1843		1846		1876		1940	
	Indians	R.0199 Others	Indians	R.0281 Others	R.0333 Indians	R.0331; R.0330 Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Huari.....		4,926		6,127	820	6,274	1,721	7,708	8,850	5,086
Huántar.....		1,501		2,382	436	2,606	317	3,282	1,189	2,658
Chavín.....		1,121		1,747	1,145	1,968	1,388	1,835	3,716	1,955
San Marcos.....		1,589		1,857	398	2,028	332	3,019	3,794	2,256
Huachis.....		2,448		3,170	885	3,287	1,463	5,196	4,134	1,986
Huacachi.....									6,064	1,821
Uco.....		2,317			659	2,980	1,861	3,154	2,831	4,530
Llamellín.....		3,300			1,268	4,124	4,052	3,512	7,935	5,764
San Luis.....		3,594			2,217	4,517	4,064	3,948	7,296	902
Yauya.....									3,913	3,050
Chacas.....		5,106			1,389	5,523	4,954	7,960	5,657	4,420
Added total.....		25,902		(2)	9,217	33,307	20,152	39,614	55,379	34,428
Text totals.....					9,327	33,334				

5 Incomplete.

HUAROCHIRI						
District	1852		1876		1940	
	AHMH O. L. uncat.		Indians	Others	Indians	Others
	Indians	Others				
Huarochari.....	1,499		1,697	1	875	2,872
San Lorenzo de Quinti.....	1,206		1,649	180	624	3,011
Santo Domingo de los Olleros.....	1,166		688	5	560	884
San Damián.....	1,708		1,333		1,922	1,455
San Pedro Casta.....	1,212		1,182		1,644	1,580
Santiago Carampoma.....	1,482		1,143	5	1,473	1,135
Santa Eulalia.....	942		716	441	334	1,302
San Mateo Huanchor.....	1,232		1,479	151	3,155	3,692
Antioquia.....			1,695	26	442	281
San José Chorrillos (Cuenca).....	1,716				215	324
Langa.....					901	1,435
San Juan Matucana and Sureo.....	1,231		1,445	561	1,678	4,869
Added total.....	13,394		13,027	1,370	13,823	22,840
Text total.....	13,394					

TABLE 2.—*Provincial castes, by district and date, from 1826 to 1940, arranged by territorial units as of 1826/54—Continued*

HUAYLAS

District	1830		1836		1842	1841	1845	1846-49	1848		1876		1940	
	R.0089 Indians	Others	R.0202 Indians	R.0201 Others	R.0274 Indians	R.0264 R.0263 Others	R.0304 Indians	R.0336 Others	R.0368 R.0367 Indians	Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Huaylas, Provincial total.....													18,341	18,397
Pueblo Libre.....											2,112	1,730		
Carás.....	4,418		4,557	4,825	4,941	5,571			5,265		5,089	3,848		
Huata.....											398	1,175		
Huaylas.....	1,103		1,188	2,134	1,243	2,359			1,162		1,582	3,859		
Mato.....											975	1,006		
Macate.....	333		333	1,149	424	1,293			491		232	3,189		
Pamparomas.....					941	579			911		2,044	1,106		
Timbe and Cosma.....	880		973	573										
Quillo.....	899				985	130	985	160	1,141		1,547	160		
Pampas.....	458		1,237	1,341	969	1,134			949		1,957	1,569		
Parlacoto.....					343	224			341		310	1,103		
Pira.....	769													
Aija, Provincial total.....													4,106	8,033
Aija.....	969		998	1,120	1,193	1,329			1,060		2,580	2,614		
Cotaparasco.....	657		731	882	717	914			738		1,071	1,336		
Pararín.....	588		686	32	693	43			579		1,392	397		
Marca.....	675		618	573	644	613			620		1,076	909		
Recay.....	299		626	1,476	777	1,830			821		1,835	3,034		
Huarás, Provincial total.....													44,459	23,835
Huarás.....					6,911	8,328	6,901	9,083	7,826		9,145	5,481		
Jangas.....											1,349	1,700		
Carhuás, Provincial total.....													20,501	5,145
Carhuás.....					6,670	4,512	6,669	4,638	7,883		13,486	3,715		
Yungay.....											722	1,536		
Yungay, Provincial total.....													18,368	11,175
Ancash (Yungay).....					6,540	4,257	6,440	4,527	6,890		9,824	6,613		
Mancos.....												725		
Shupluy.....											1,246	683		
Added total.....	(?)		(?)	(?)	33,991	33,116	(?)	(?)	36,677		62,335	47,488	105,775	66,585
Text total.....	27,321		30,881	30,761	33,991	33,213		34,008	36,429					

* Incomplete.

* Given in R.0368.

ICA

District	1830		1840		1876		1940	
	R.0115 Indians	R.0116 Others	R.0241 Indians	Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Ica, Provincial total.....							12,095	62,009
Ica, City.....					3,839	5,924		
Santa Ana.....	2,084		2,525					
Anan.....	854		1,540					
Luren.....	541		609					
Molino.....		61						
Cerrillo and Desaguadero.....		79						
Carmen and Cerro Prieto.....		158						
Quilloay.....		36						
San Juan Bautista.....	543	70	841		3,578	3,062		
Mochicas.....		32						
Cachiche and Comatrana.....		96						
Chanchasaya and Tallamana.....		205						
Garganto and Santiago.....		127						
Santa Lucia.....		84						
Ocucaje.....		90						
Yauca.....	60	87	107		1,111	37		
Tingue and Curis.....	144		155					
Tingo.....	50		52					
Pueblo Nuevo.....					3,660	284		
San José.....	34		56					
Palpa and Tivillo.....	104	258	99		1,740	1,512		
Santa Cruz and Santiago.....	92		79		1,616	737		
Rio Grande.....	62	73	31					
San Juan del Ingenio.....		69						
Nasca.....	96	240	125		632	2,239		
Changuillo.....		29						
Pisco, Provincial total.....							3,987	21,302
Pisco, City.....	1	255			1,569	4,847		
San Miguel and Condor.....		126						
Humay, Chunchanga, Miraflores.....		104			237	1,165		
Added total.....	4,665	2,279	6,219		17,982	19,807	16,082	83,311
Text total.....	4,754		6,221					

TABLE 2.—*Provincial castes, by district and date, from 1826 to 1940, arranged by territorial units as of 1826/54—Continued*

JAÉN

District	1837		1842		1849		1876		1940	
	R.0214 Indians	Others	R.0276 Indians	Others	R.0395 Indians	Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Jaén.....	658	—	707	—	789	—	438	447	1,443	3,558
Bellavista.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	224	159	35	1,003
Chirinos.....	272	—	296	—	342	—	560	535	713	1,530
San Ignacio.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	458	810	1,031	2,763
Tabaconas.....	198	—	238	—	497	—	426	277	1,405	1,307
San Felipe.....	223	—	163	—	—	—	219	499	844	431
Sallique.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	386	355	882	1,261
Colasay.....	508	—	501	—	452	—	1,004	1,146	897	3,560
Callayuc.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	516	561	683	5,802
Pimpingos.....	120	—	141	—	119	—	557	406	—	4,113
Cujillo.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	586	248	—	1,686
Choros.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	106	183	2	713
Querocotillo.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	686	834	24	8,998
Added total.....	1,979	—	2,046	—	2,199	—	6,166	6,460	7,959	36,725
Text total.....	1,986	—	2,060	—	2,214	* 5,131	—	—	—	—

* Given in summary of R.0395.

JAUJA

District	1835		1845-46		1876		1940	
	R.0182 Indians	R.0182 Others	R.0320 R.0348 R.0349 Indians	Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Jauja, Provincial total.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	56,742	46,511
Jauja, Curacy.....	—	—	9,440	—	14,405	6,777	—	—
Jauja, City.....	267	1,938	—	—	—	—	—	—
Acolla.....	857	418	—	—	—	—	—	—
Marco.....	1,188	233	—	—	—	—	—	—
Paca.....	415	438	—	—	—	—	—	—
Huala.....	314	34	—	—	—	—	—	—
Panca.....	277	91	—	—	—	—	—	—
Las Huertas.....	416	166	—	—	—	—	—	—
Condorsinja.....	—	89	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tambo.....	135	151	—	—	—	—	—	—
Yauli.....	454	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Chunan.....	562	75	—	—	—	—	—	—
Apalcancha.....	243	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tingo.....	314	70	—	—	—	—	—	—
Yanamarca.....	255	138	—	—	—	—	—	—
Acaya.....	167	174	—	—	—	—	—	—
Chuquishuari.....	55	30	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ataura.....	515	629	—	—	—	—	—	—
Molinos.....	264	309	—	—	—	—	—	—
Juleán.....	211	377	—	—	—	—	—	—
Paucar.....	134	38	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ricran.....	496	695	—	—	—	—	—	—
Huaripampa, Curacy.....	—	—	3,024	—	3,903	1,813	—	—
Huaripampa.....	232	406	—	—	—	—	—	—
Muquiyauyo.....	722	387	—	—	—	—	—	—
Huayuri.....	146	172	—	—	—	—	—	—
Canchayo.....	194	208	—	—	—	—	—	—
Llocllapampa.....	416	104	—	—	—	—	—	—
Viscas.....	110	23	—	—	—	—	—	—
Parco.....	511	84	—	—	—	—	—	—
Huancayo, Provincial total.....	—	—	4,118	—	6,071	4,521	82,642	40,967
Huancayo.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cajas.....	—	—	1,980	—	3,615	1,485	—	—
Pariahuanca.....	—	—	7,989	—	8,587	1,697	—	—
Sapallanga.....	—	—	6,539	—	1,020	2,672	—	—
Chongos.....	—	—	—	—	4,598	811	—	—
Colca.....	—	—	3,356	—	4,912	7,245	—	—
Chupaca.....	—	—	—	—	3,323	159	—	—
San Juan Iscos.....	—	—	877	—	1,213	1,980	—	—
Sicaya.....	—	—	1,010	—	1,820	3,608	—	—
Lurinhuanca (Concepción).....	—	—	1,329	—	2,509	3,818	—	—
San Jerónimo de Tunán.....	—	—	1,361	—	2,741	5,231	—	—
Apata.....	—	—	1,183	—	1,359	3,893	—	—
Orcotuna.....	—	—	2,332	—	2,764	2,301	—	—
Mito.....	—	—	943	—	1,532	2,253	—	—
Sincos.....	—	—	1,295	—	2,889	2,408	—	—
Comas.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Yauli, Provincial total.....	—	—	2,151	—	3,471	1,855	14,459	16,871
Yauli.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Added total.....	(*) 9,890	(*) 7,427	48,927	(*) 44,106	70,732	54,527	153,843	104,349
Text total.....	—	—	48,927	—	—	—	—	—

* Incomplete. * Deducted from total as given in R.0349.

TABLE 2.—*Provincial castes, by district and date, from 1826 to 1940, arranged by territorial units as of 1826/54—Continued*

LAMPA

District	1797		1837		1876		1940	
	R.R. E.E. 5-29 Indians	Others	R.0234 Indians	Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Pucará.....	2,218	-----	-----	-----	3,100	467	5,381	411
Orurillo.....	5,208	-----	-----	-----	4,752	349	7,394	416
Nuñoa.....	2,315	-----	-----	-----	2,046	354	5,740	730
Santa Rosa.....	1,963	-----	-----	-----	2,781	263	4,501	484
Macari.....	2,961	-----	-----	-----	4,268	232	3,795	161
Cupi.....	1,243	-----	-----	-----	685	88	1,102	66
Llallí.....	540	-----	-----	-----	614	146	1,306	83
Ocuvalí.....	689	-----	-----	-----	940	987	1,205	80
Umachiri.....	1,860	-----	-----	-----	1,889	129	2,141	97
Lampa and Calapuja.....	-----	-----	7,059	-----	6,214	1,139	10,739	779
Nicasio.....	-----	-----	907	-----	902	113	1,405	45
Cabanilla.....	-----	-----	4,057	-----	4,485	469	3,806	199
Cabana.....	-----	-----	2,923	-----	3,748	248	5,764	930
Vilque.....	-----	-----	2,367	-----	2,646	542	3,794	617
Atuncolla.....	-----	-----	1,635	-----	1,727	389	2,779	110
Caracoto.....	-----	-----	3,189	-----	4,615	373	4,710	219
Juliacá.....	-----	-----	4,242	-----	5,960	373	13,056	2,605
Ayaviri.....	2,852	-----	-----	-----	7,254	389	8,597	2,142
Added total.....	21,979	-----	26,379	-----	58,626	7,050	87,215	10,174
Text total.....	(?)	-----	26,374	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

2 Incomplete.

LIMA

District	1848		1876		1940	
	R.0376 Indians	Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Lima, Provincial total, without capital.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	18,849	274,658
Magdalena.....	35	-----	446	993	-----	-----
Miraflores.....	139	-----	260	847	-----	-----
Carabaylo.....	197	-----	512	3,304	-----	-----
Ancon.....	82	-----	262	370	-----	-----
Santiago de Surco.....	425	-----	865	1,115	-----	-----
Chorrillos and Barranco.....	1,180	-----	2,043	3,180	-----	-----
Pachacamac.....	605	-----	978	290	-----	-----
Huaycan and Panquihuo.....	169	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Lurin.....	714	-----	786	862	-----	-----
Ate.....	35	-----	431	2,046	-----	-----
Lurigancho.....	-----	-----	201	1,047	-----	-----
Added total.....	* 3,581	-----	6,784	14,054	18,849	274,658
Text total.....	* 3,582	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

3 Adults only.

LUCANAS

District	1830		1876		1940	
	R.0100 Indians	R.0099 Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Lucanas.....	1,039	-----	-----	-----	2,863	698
San Juan.....	-----	362	1,562	540	253	753
Puquillo.....	2,175	401	2,560	875	5,935	2,602
San Pedro.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	2,588	480
Para y Sancos.....	516	309	563	539	1,259	1,653
Chaviña.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	1,537	1,088
Santa Lucia.....	691	69	600	130	2,217	1,058
Huac-Huas.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	1,174	537
Otoca.....	542	88	1,106	346	691	901
Laramate.....	928	320	1,887	1,828	911	1,410
Llauta.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	1,035	835
Ocaña.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	1,419	1,950
Cabana.....	1,527	43	2,313	120	5,991	530
Acuará.....	981	128	1,755	251	4,936	787
Huacafía.....	451	53	877	168	3,523	391
Querobamba.....	412	354	712	1,154	1,543	724
Chileayoc.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	1,051	502
Carhuana.....	249	287	425	299	2,087	214
Chalcos.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	1,195	1,042
Palco.....	274	121	822	322	1,981	822
Soras.....	471	251	449	467	1,660	625
Chipao.....	661	55	1,425	257	3,928	488
Added total.....	10,917	2,841	17,056	6,796	49,777	20,090
Text total.....	11,002	-----	17,056	6,796	-----	-----

TABLE 2.—*Provincial castes, by district and date, from 1826 to 1940, arranged by territorial units as of 1826/54—Continued*

PARINACOCNAS

District	1826		1836		1846		1851		1876		1940	
	R.0042 Indians	Others	R.0193 Indians	Others	R.0341 Indians	R.0343 Others	Indians	R.0414 Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Pausa.....	1,337	-----	1,191	-----	1,414	806	-----	758	1,782	1,064	1,197	1,780
Lampa.....	1,158	-----	1,056	-----	1,336	1,666	-----	1,669	1,646	2,324	2,577	3,392
Pomataambo (Oyolo).....	1,274	-----	1,157	-----	1,505	357	-----	438	1,858	381	1,443	413
Collanas and Huayta (Cor- culla).....	683	-----	712	-----	740	631	-----	631	507	1,242	649	1,339
Colta.....	991	-----	976	-----	1,037	548	-----	507	1,258	514	1,269	1,340
Pacapausa.....	1,945	-----	1,904	-----	2,318	546	-----	556	2,744	477	3,614	889
Pararca.....	918	-----	796	-----	969	410	-----	378	1,186	526	904	2,465
Pullo.....	612	-----	408	-----	540	944	-----	872	2,154	129	830	2,589
Chumpi.....	797	-----	677	-----	1,009	793	-----	646	1,799	121	3,676	610
Coracora.....	4,823	-----	1,312	-----	1,810	931	-----	982	2,882	1,610	4,853	4,602
Added total.....	14,538	-----	10,189	-----	12,678	7,632	-----	7,437	17,816	8,388	21,012	19,419
Text total.....	-----	-----	10,323	-----	12,713	7,453	-----	7,437	-----	-----	21,012	19,419

PARURO

District	1830		1845		1876		1940	
	Arch. Nac. uncat. Indians	Others	Indians	R.0319 Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Ccapi.....	1,027	-----	-----	439	1,090	657	2,177	1,096
Collecha.....	619	-----	-----	90	922	878	2,258	1,207
Pampacucho.....	221	-----	-----	129	-----	-----	-----	-----
Accha.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	1,294	2,076	2,592	2,897
Accha Anansaya.....	617	-----	-----	115	-----	-----	-----	-----
Accha Urinsaya.....	851	-----	-----	189	-----	-----	-----	-----
Pillpinto.....	-----	-----	-----	228	-----	-----	-----	-----
Omacha.....	1,613	-----	-----	25	1,922	480	4,326	384
Ccoyabamba.....	-----	-----	-----	117	-----	-----	-----	-----
Tucuyachi (San Lorenzo).....	67	-----	-----	49	-----	-----	-----	-----
Huanquite.....	1,508	-----	-----	63	1,826	687	2,672	642
Ccorca.....	1,286	-----	-----	28	-----	-----	-----	-----
Paruro.....	1,521	-----	-----	-----	2,867	2,191	6,636	2,246
Yaurisque.....	2,168	-----	-----	59	-----	-----	-----	-----
Pacarictambo.....	-----	-----	-----	223	-----	-----	-----	-----
Added total.....	11,498	-----	-----	1,754	9,921	6,879	20,661	8,472
Text total.....	-----	-----	-----	1,767	-----	-----	-----	-----

PATAZ

District	1831		1835-1837		1842		1847		1876		1940	
	Indians	R.0138 Others	R.0273 Indians	R.0179 Others	R.0273 Indians	Others	R.0360 Indians	Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Cajamarquilla (Bolívar).....	-----	1,138	945	1,170	893	-----	1,039	-----	1,414	2	301	2,059
Longotea.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	17	394
Ucuncha.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	47	316
Chilla.....	-----	3,625	731	3,785	655	-----	759	-----	2,319	1,523	1,806	4,315
Challas (Tayabamba).....	-----	4,171	1,171	4,817	1,183	-----	1,359	-----	3,298	2,818	1,256	10,471
Huayillas.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	406	632	813	694
Uchumarca.....	-----	-----	327	-----	315	-----	316	-----	555	-----	398	723
Ongón.....	-----	-----	407	-----	411	-----	465	-----	1,403	140	409	1,499
Bambamarca.....	-----	-----	347	-----	312	-----	302	-----	-----	-----	-----	757
Condormarca.....	-----	-----	370	-----	294	-----	371	-----	1,892	2,126	1,922	670
Patás.....	-----	-----	237	-----	194	-----	243	-----	434	140	-----	1,255
Soledad.....	-----	-----	846	-----	824	-----	1,050	-----	1,719	210	1,010	5,647
Parcoy.....	-----	-----	437	-----	371	-----	382	-----	854	28	1,289	696
Huayo.....	-----	-----	451	-----	391	-----	487	-----	613	1,677	418	3,788
Bulibuyo.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	4,856	185	1,905	5,803
Huancaspata.....	-----	-----	1,207	-----	1,391	-----	1,447	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Ecclesiastics.....	-----	9	-----	9	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Added total.....	-----	8,943	7,476	9,781	7,234	-----	8,220	-----	19,763	9,481	11,619	39,087
Text total.....	-----	8,950	7,476	9,879	7,234	-----	8,220	-----	19,763	9,481	-----	-----

TABLE 2.—*Provincial castes, by district and date, from 1826 to 1940, arranged by territorial units as of 1826/54—Continued*

PAUCARTAMBO

District	1825-1826		1830		1845		1876		1940	
	Indians	AHMH O. L. 150 42. Others	Indians	R.0106 Others	R.0375 Indians	Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Paucartambo.....	-----	306	-----	384	2,688	-----	2,897	846	5,185	1,618
Catca.....	-----	78	-----	110	3,960	-----	2,643	314	7,102	588
Calca.....	-----	102	-----	106	1,261	-----	2,804	301	4,604	611
Huasac.....	-----	87	-----	111	1,369	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Colquepata.....	-----	40	-----	33	3,715	-----	1,899	207	4,256	138
Challabamba.....	-----	14	-----	29	905	-----	1,968	207	3,546	1,018
Paucarbamba.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	176	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Amparaes.....	-----	24	-----	10	743	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Ecclesiastics.....	-----	-----	-----	19	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Added total.....	-----	651	-----	802	14,641	-----	12,211	1,875	24,693	3,973
Text total.....	-----	-----	-----	783	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

QUISPICANCHIS

District	1826		1830		1835		1851		1876		1940	
	R.0049 Indians	R.0048 Others	R.0108 Indians	R.0107 Others	R.0181 Indians	Others	Indians	R.0419 Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Oropesa.....	2,045	756	2,229	903	2,295	-----	-----	156	2,761	1,780	4,550	2,539
Andahuayllillas.....	598	210	723	275	761	-----	-----	88	-----	-----	1,731	662
Urcos.....	2,522	255	3,107	272	3,249	-----	-----	111	3,701	1,235	9,776	2,165
Guaroc.....	-----	148	-----	186	-----	-----	-----	48	-----	-----	-----	-----
Quilquijana (Yanacocha).....	3,929	540	4,801	561	4,690	-----	-----	226	5,037	1,218	11,253	2,313
Sangarará.....	3,833	68	3,713	71	4,666	-----	-----	119	3,221	271	4,526	355
Marcacunga.....	-----	31	-----	56	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Yananpampa.....	-----	30	-----	43	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Acopia.....	-----	106	-----	102	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Mosocllacta.....	-----	-----	-----	10	869	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Pueblo Nuevo.....	761	7	847	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Pomacanchi.....	2,625	247	3,192	245	3,217	-----	-----	162	4,631	488	9,265	1,176
Santa Lucia.....	-----	13	-----	17	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
San Juan.....	-----	21	-----	23	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Acos.....	2,639	248	3,043	227	3,260	-----	-----	84	4,099	2,099	2,820	1,517
Huayquil.....	-----	102	-----	85	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Acomayo.....	-----	301	-----	312	-----	-----	-----	42	-----	-----	4,284	1,035
Paptes.....	1,406	25	1,575	12	1,776	-----	-----	78	-----	-----	-----	-----
Sanca.....	-----	104	-----	118	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Pirque.....	-----	86	-----	75	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Quihuare.....	828	84	1,027	83	1,079	-----	-----	2	-----	-----	-----	-----
Rondocán.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	36	2,383	375	3,577	842
Ocongate.....	1,056	201	1,370	212	1,475	-----	-----	30	2,349	264	5,513	517
Marcapata.....	753	162	1,030	180	1,092	-----	-----	44	1,632	394	2,928	2,274
Quispicanchi (Machaca).....	413	-----	438	-----	477	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Added total.....	23,408	3,745	27,095	4,068	28,906	-----	-----	1,226	29,814	8,124	60,223	15,395
Text total.....	23,033	-----	27,297	4,063	28,901	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

SANTA

District	1826		1837		1841		1848		1854		1876		1940	
	AHMH O. L. 167 Indians	O. L. 167 Others	R.0257 Indians	R.0617 Others	R.0257 Indians	Others	R.0338 Indians	Others	R.0452 Indians	R.0452 Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Santa.....	47	209	-----	261	47	-----	43	-----	205	-----	480	2,498	323	1,905
Chimbote.....	65	-----	-----	68	70	-----	83	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1,175	8,548
Lacramarca.....	14	98	-----	-----	51	-----	48	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Nepeña.....	80	389	-----	644	40	-----	44	-----	138	-----	1,556	3,765	981	4,330
Huambacho.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	33	-----	56	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Moro.....	11	348	-----	353	63	-----	49	-----	39	-----	998	1,802	3,071	2,362
Casma.....	85	-----	-----	273	74	-----	141	-----	188	-----	1,458	4,299	1,332	4,892
Yaután.....	16	-----	-----	25	52	-----	50	-----	-----	-----	335	357	542	784
Huarmey.....	299	-----	-----	120	324	-----	415	-----	398	-----	757	334	248	3,462
Added total.....	617	(*)	-----	1,744	754	-----	929	-----	968	-----	5,584	13,055	7,672	26,283
Text total.....	-----	-----	415	-----	671	-----	881	-----	852	3,900	5,584	13,055	7,672	26,283

* Incomplete.

TABLE 2.—*Provincial castes, by district and date, from 1826 to 1940, arranged by territorial units as of 1826/54—Continued*

TACNA-ARICA

District	1828		1830 AHMH uncataloged		1876		1940	
	Indians	R.0136 Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Arica.....		2,152		2,005	4,086	4,955		
Codpa.....				200				
Belen.....				39				
Tacna.....		3,182		3,195	10,572	8,673	6,483	14,549
Calana.....								
Ilabaya.....		642		1,109				
Locumba.....		438						
Pachia.....								
Sama.....		1,839		985				
Taratata.....		83		77	7,149	574	12,480	2,837
Candarave.....				92				
Ecclesiastics.....				24				
Added total.....		8,336		7,726	21,807	14,202		
Text total.....			12,579	7,726	21,807	14,202		
Minus Arica.....		6,184			17,721	9,247	18,963	17,386

TARAPACA

District	1840		1845		1876	
	R.0621 Indians	R.0621 Others	R.0308 Indians	R.0621 Others	Indians	Others
Tarapaca.....			1,601	799	2,352	1,580
Mamfia.....					1,042	1
Santa Rosa.....				210		
Huantajara.....				210		
Sibaya.....			1,112	19	1,061	18
Pica.....			631	601	3,708	4,528
Mantilla.....				426		
Guatacongo.....				206		
Quillaga.....				87		
Pabellón.....				95		
Tirana.....				454		
Camifia.....			2,482	327	1,148	149
Chiapa.....					1,125	1
Huaina Pisagua.....				161	2,568	3,369
Iquique.....				791	3,682	11,893
Added total.....			5,826	4,386	16,686	21,539
Text totals.....	5,797	3,832	5,825	4,593	16,686	21,539

TAYACAJA

District	1826		1830		1841		1846		1876		1940	
	Indians	R.0043 Others	Arch. Nac. uncat.		R.0261 Indians	Others	R.0351 Indians	Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
			Indians	Others								
Pampas.....		848		976	5,427		6,378		4,899	2,912	11,962	1,785
Huaribamba.....		560		120	1,801		2,620		3,434	271	7,886	495
Acostambo.....											2,883	1,440
Nahumputuquilo.....											840	441
Surcubamba.....		690		733	590		752		1,294	1,641	4,700	2,974
Puncarbamba.....		585		790	1,634		2,107		3,669	1,240	8,402	1,851
Mayoc.....		608		624	2,395		3,485		2,429	1,248	4,472	1,523
Locroja.....									2,760	608	5,399	558
Salcabamba.....				599	1,164		2,034		3,542	1,042	7,668	1,791
Colcabamba.....				400	1,595		2,198		3,458	1,122	8,778	1,354
Anco.....				430	821		1,261		1,613	979	6,213	644
Added total.....		3,291		4,672	15,427		20,835		27,098	11,063	69,203	14,856
Text total.....				4,727	15,618		20,820				69,203	14,856

TABLE 2.—Provincial castes, by district and date, from 1826 to 1940, arranged by territorial units as of 1826/54—Continued

TRUJILLO

District	1788-1837		1852		1876		1940	
	Martínez MS. and	Compañón Gufa, 1837	Indians	R.0639 Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
	Indians	Others						
Trujillo, Municipal District					2,229	8,371	991	44,937
Cathedral Parish		5,515						
San Sebastián	274	1		191				
Huanchaco					555	158	41	739
Moche					1,148	181	1,849	1,924
Salaverry							222	3,181
Santiago de Cao	843	692		364	1,106	1,112	2,115	9,530
Magdalena de Cao	150	183		113	278	636	316	1,352
Chocope	51	631		339	437	2,117	693	13,492
Paíján	301	36		123	1,878	1,066	505	4,564
Ascope				692	671	4,729	553	8,742
Chicama				376	222	1,731	1,341	5,579
Rázuri							352	2,998
Simbal	218	273		534	527	710	527	2,750
Virú	1,797	128		315	1,571	1,126	2,095	5,294
Mansiche	888	51						
Added total	4,577	7,455		3,047	10,622	21,937	11,600	105,082
Text totals								

UNION

District	1826-30		1845-46		1876		1940	
	R.0042 Indians	R.0101 Others	R.0340 Indians	R.0307 Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Salla	593	114	851	626	1,030	383	1,052	812
Charcana	364	194	551	566	401	698	378	771
Quechualla					102	754	97	467
Pampamarca	1,213	55	1,528	181	1,216	114	1,599	294
Huainacotas	1,210	216	1,571	796	1,259	1,081	2,214	969
Added total	3,380	579	4,501	2,169	4,008	3,030	5,243	2,846
Text total								

URUBAMBA

District	1826 Arch. Nac. uncat. & R.0050 R.0051		1830		1841		1846		1852		1876		1940	
	Indians	Others	R.0110 Indians	R.0109 Others	Indians	R.0269 Others	Indians	R.0345 Others	R.0636 Indians	R.0635 Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
San Pedro de Urubamba	833	661	728	414		240		57	713	50	3,582	3,463	1,291	5,128
Santiago de Yucay	1,007	436	962	313		218		64	1,193	50			697	1,783
San Juan de Huallabamba	1,561	388	1,532	190		222		122	1,765	27			1,276	1,734
Santiago de Ollantaytambo	1,080	641	996	255		81		47	1,476	40	934	1,712	1,662	4,207
Sillque				110		21		18						
Umuto			358	221		83		42	316	16				
Huilo	554	449												
Huayopata	159	156	185	103		68		21	188	41	1,399	464	3,017	2,396
Chavillay		36		40				93						
Chinchero	191	175	152	97		64		31	104	17				
Maramura	111	237	138	184		108		85	156	48			5,586	204
Chaco	295	471	368	226		77		68	356	50				
Media Luna				68		45								
Echarati			98					79			1,171	1,202	1,996	1,531
Cocabambilla		35												
Soccospata									8					
Santa Ana	422	261	409	17		100		110	473	36	3,507	963	3,017	4,169
Potrero						33		42		37				
Uchumayo		20												
Huayanay		83												
Mesacancha	22	35	205			15		21	196	2				
Huadquina		56		38										
Yanama		83		65										
Vilcabamba	974	90	1,103	57		10		10	1,527	9			6,382	2,598
Pucyura		105		18										
Lucma		28		97										
Ocobamba	278	77	332	47		91		62		37	867	616	251	1,886
Mosocllaeta		115				45		25		18				
Buenos Aires		69		48		43		53		55				
Mantaytambo				87										
San Francisco de Maras	2,081	814	2,019	505		49		46	2,404	26	4,090	2,900	4,003	1,987
Ecclesiastics						41								
Added total	9,568	5,521	9,585	3,365		1,741		1,110	10,867	567	15,550	11,320	29,178	27,623
Text total				3,808		1,743		1,142	10,866	552				

TABLE 2.—*Provincial castes, by district and date, from 1826 to 1940, arranged by territorial units as of 1826/54—Continued*

YAUYOS

District	1826		1836		1876		1940	
	Indians	R.0055 Others	R.0206 Indians	Others	Indians	Others	Indians	Others
Yauyos.....		426	2, 272		2, 057	232	453	1, 595
Allauca.....							714	688
Miraflores.....							35	722
Laraos.....		257	2, 843		3, 353	385	346	1, 274
Huantán.....							191	1, 137
Lérída.....							560	806
Alis.....		82					81	960
Carania.....							156	548
Vitis.....		24						
Tomás.....		117					276	822
Huancaya.....							241	917
Ayaviri.....		30	768		866	90	616	366
Quinocay.....		48						
Viscas.....		61						
Huampara.....		51					208	793
Omas.....		134	539		515	123	1, 148	487
Huañec.....		24	1, 752		1, 821	350	1, 137	1, 651
Quinchés.....		20					518	1, 292
Tauripampa.....			1, 106		1, 033	4	733	271
Colonía.....							1, 525	866
Vifac.....			807				1, 037	1, 052
Chupamarca.....			992		1, 309	101	1, 186	267
Pampas.....			2, 560		2, 145	6		
Added total.....		1, 274	13, 639		13, 784	1, 291	10, 161	16, 514
Text total.....		1, 295	13, 563					

CASTE PERCENTAGES BY PROVINCE
(1826/54-1940) ARRANGED BY TERRITORIAL UNITS AS OF 1826/54 (TABLE 3)

The main problem is to utilize the incomplete counts among the various counts available for many provinces in the period 1826/54. This can often be done by referring to figures published in the census of 1836 or of 1850. These published reports, fragmentary as they are, were based upon the *matrículas*, and represent summations of the returns from each province. Thus, if the Indian register for a province has survived, but not the register of *castas*, the total of the latter can be deduced by reference to either of the contemporary census reports. The operation has been footnoted wherever it was performed.

The territorial units, as in table 2, are based upon the units as of 1826/54. Population figures from 1876 and 1940 are adjusted to these territorial units.

The special purpose of table 3 is to give at a glance the caste percentages at various periods by uniform territories. It also emends many lacunae of table 2 by reference to printed sources of the period. The maps of the next section are based principally upon table 3.

TABLE 3.—*Summary of caste totals and percentages, by province and year, 1826-1940, arranged by territorial units as of 1826/54*

[Figures in braces: These total and derived figures were deduced by combining incomplete sources bearing on short time-spans. Italicized figures are those deduced from, but not given by, the sources]

ABANCAY

Year	Sources	Total	Indians	Percent of total	Others	Percent of total
1826-39.....	R.0044; R.0045; R.0102; R.0237.	9, 698	6, 130	63. 21	3, 568	27. 79
1840.....	<i>El Correo</i> ¹	(5, 980)	(4, 557)	76. 2	(1, 423)	23. 8
1845.....	R.0310; R.0311.....	8, 276	6, 570	79. 39	1, 706	20. 61
1851.....	R.0417; R.0633.....	9, 897	8, 232	83. 18	1, 665	16. 82
1876.....		16, 449	8, 226	50. 01	8, 223	49. 99
1940.....		36, 122	24, 028	66. 52	12, 094	33. 48

¹ Taxpayers only, and including Anta Province (separated from Abancay in 1838).

ANDAHUAYLAS

Year	Sources	Total	Indians	Percent of total	Others	Percent of total
1836.....	R.0180; R.0196.....	22, 850	14, 899	65. 2	7, 951	34. 8
1841.....	R.0267; R.0266.....	31, 127	18, 926	60. 8	12, 201	39. 2
1876.....		48, 100	26, 167	54. 4	21, 933	45. 6
1940.....		107, 726	86, 289	80. 1	21, 437	19. 9

ANTA

Year	Sources	Total	Indians	Percent of total	Others	Percent of total
1826-30.....	R.0102; R.0044.....	17, 594	14, 989	85. 19	2, 605	14. 81
1845.....	R.0373; R.0312.....	20, 977	17, 947	85. 56	3, 030	14. 44
1850.....	Census.....	22, 980	18, 696	81. 35		
1851.....	R.0647.....				4, 285	18. 65
1876.....		21, 668	15, 292	70. 57	6, 376	29. 43
1940.....		39, 377	27, 797	70. 59	11, 580	29. 41

² By subtracting R.0647 from census total of 1850.

TABLE 3.—Summary of caste totals and percentages, by province and year, 1826-1940, arranged by territorial units as of 1826/54—Continued

ASANGARO						
Year	Sources	Total	Indians	Percent of total	Others	Percent of total
1826-35	R.0059; R.0058; R.0184.	42,657	40,835	95.73	1,822	4.27
1851	<i>Guía</i> . . . 1851	54,333	52,063	95.82	2,270	4.18
1876		53,269	50,393	94.6	2,876	5.4
1940		111,326	106,373	95.55	4,953	4.45

AIMARAES						
1826	R.0045	24,639			6,857	27.84
1834	<i>El Penitente</i>		17,776	72.16		
1840	<i>El Correo</i>	28,638	18,776	65.58	9,854	34.42
1851	R.0629				8,897	
1876		25,330	10,443	41.23	14,887	58.77
1940		50,084	26,301	52.51	23,783	47.49

⁸ By adding figures for 1826 and 1834.

⁹ Misprint for 28,630.

CAILLOMA						
1843	R.0284; R.0286	21,522	19,343	89.88	2,179	10.12
1848	R.0370				2,699	11.51
1850	Census	23,446	20,747	88.49		
1876		20,220	16,796	83.07	3,424	16.93
1940		30,210	22,734	75.25	7,476	24.75

¹⁰ By subtracting R.0370 from total given by census of 1850.

CAJAMARCA						
1826	R.0052		19,878	47.34		
1837	<i>Guía</i> . . . 1837	41,993		22,115	52.66	
1841	<i>Guía</i> . . . 1841	42,762	22,787	53.29	19,975	46.71
1847	R.0359		23,426	50.79		
1850	Census	46,122		22,696	49.21	
1876		82,538	27,730	33.6	54,808	66.4
1940		190,863	39,541	20.72	151,322	79.28

¹¹ By subtracting R.0052 from total given by *Guía* . . . 1837.

¹² By subtracting R.0359 from total given census of 1850.

CAJATAMBO						
1837	<i>Guía</i> . . . 1837	18,464				
1846	R.0346				9,240	37.26
1850	Census	24,799	16,659	62.74		
1876		81,035	20,399	25.18	60,636	34.27
1940		52,307	25,929	49.57	26,378	50.43

¹³ By subtracting R.0346 from total of census of 1850.

CALCA						
1830	R.0103	15,471			906	5.86
1834	<i>El Penitente</i> ¹⁴	(4,070)	(3,598)	88.4	(472)	11.6
1836	R.0198	15,471	14,565	94.14		
1845	R.0316; R.0317	18,425	16,853	91.47	1,572	8.53
1851	<i>Guía</i> . . . 1851	14,223	11,833	83.2	2,390	16.8
1851	R.0418		17,394			
1876		14,086	11,017	78.21	3,069	21.79
1940		33,778	23,190	68.65	10,588	31.35

¹⁵ By adding R.0103 and R.0198.

¹⁶ Taxpayers only. Total population not given.

CANAS						
1834	<i>El Penitente</i> ¹⁷	36,109	33,119	91.72	2,990	8.28
		(11,744)	(11,073)	94.29	(671)	5.71
1845	R.0317				316	.84
1850	Census	37,605	37,289	99.16		
1876		35,866	33,720	94.02	2,146	5.98
1940		58,264	53,654	92.09	4,610	7.91

¹⁷ Although the report refers to Tinta Province, the figures enumerate the inhabitants only of Canas Province. The numbers of taxpayers are given as well, indicated here in parentheses.

¹⁸ By subtracting R.0317 from total given by census of 1850.

TABLE 3.—Summary of caste totals and percentages, by province and year, 1826-1940, arranged by territorial units as of 1826/54—Continued

CANTA						
Year	Sources	Total	Indians	Percent of total	Others	Percent of total
1813	Archivo Arzob.	9,433	7,013	74.35	2,420	25.65
1837	<i>Guía</i> . . . 1837	13,932				
1850	Census	14,384				
1876		16,650	14,978	89.96	1,672	10.04
1940		27,965	9,751	34.87	18,214	65.13

CARABAYA						
1830	R.0119; R.0120	18,551	17,354	93.55	1,197	6.45
1850	Census	22,138				
1850	R.0404		20,652	93.29	1,486	6.71
1876		22,185	20,029	86.39	3,156	13.61
1940		42,896	36,491	85.07	6,405	14.93

¹⁹ By subtracting R.0404 from the total given by census of 1850.

CASTROVIRREYNA						
1836	R.0204; ¹⁴ R.0191	(2,448)	(2,349)	95.96	(99)	4.04
1846	R.0350		11,654	81.22		
1850	Census	14,348			1,486	18.78
1876		14,802	14,686	99.22	116	.78
1940		47,374	28,310	59.76	19,064	40.24

¹⁴ Taxpayers only.

¹⁵ By subtracting R.0350 from total in census of 1850.

CHACHAPOYAS						
1837-38	R.0211				8,421	45.7
1837	<i>Guía</i> . . . 1837	18,426	10,005	54.3		
1876		34,284	18,201	53.09	16,083	46.91
1940		65,065	13,266	20.39	51,799	79.61

¹⁶ By subtracting R.0211 from *Guía* . . . 1837.

CHANCAY						
1836	R.0205				5,585	29.85
1837	<i>Guía</i> . . . 1837	18,712	17,187	70.15		
1848	Bibl. Nac.	13,943	10,512	75.39	3,431	24.61
1876		36,440	17,903	49.13	18,537	50.87
1940		128,944	30,634	23.76	98,310	76.24

¹⁷ By subtracting R.0205 from *Guía* . . . 1837.

CHOTA						
1838	R.0228	53,775	19,859	36.93	33,916	63.07
1850	Census	62,597				
1876		98,314	31,409	31.95	66,905	68.05
1940		214,189	8,073	3.77	206,116	96.23

CHUCUITO						
1850	Census	75,957			9,228	12.15
1853	R.0440		66,729	87.85		
1876		59,452	56,509	95.05	2,943	4.95
1940		155,162	147,755	95.23	7,407	4.77

¹⁸ By subtracting R.0440 from census of 1850.

CHUMBIVILCAS						
1830	R.0105		16,952	89.00		
1834	<i>El Penitente</i>		19,048			
1840	<i>El Correo</i>	(3,886)	(3,471)	89.32	(415)	10.68
1876		29,389	22,753	77.42	6,636	22.58
1940		54,905	41,487	75.56	13,418	24.44

¹⁹ By subtracting R.0105 from total for 1834.

TABLE 3.—Summary of caste totals and percentages, by province and year, 1826-1940, arranged by territorial units as of 1826/54—Continued

CONCHUCOS

Year	Sources	Total	Indians	Percent of total	Others	Percent of total
1830	R.0112					
1837	Guía . . . 1837	44,110	20,945	54.28	20,165	45.72
1876		65,566	24,322	37.1	41,244	62.9
1940		101,978	55,063	53.99	46,915	46.01

²⁰ By subtracting R.0112 from Guía . . . 1837.

COTABAMBAS

1830-31	R.0084; R.0104	21,979	15,614	71.04	6,365	28.96
1840	El Correo ²¹	(4,632)	(3,161)	68.24	(1,471)	31.76
1876		28,646	19,845	69.28	8,801	30.72
1940		64,182	44,103	68.72	20,079	31.28

²¹ Taxpayers only.

CUZCO

1840	El Correo ²²	40,000	(1,476)	46.8	(1,678)	53.2
		(3,154)				
1876		23,108	9,455	40.91	13,653	59.09
1940		64,681	16,622	30.43	38,009	69.57

²² Subtotal given by taxpayers only. Total taxpayers not given.

HUAMACHUCO

1826	R.0054		18,762	43.57		
1837	Guía . . . 1837	43,058			24,296	56.43
1876		43,519	19,340	44.44	24,179	55.56
1940		85,798	20,178	23.52	65,620	76.48

²³ By subtracting R.0054 from Guía . . . 1837.

HUAMALES

1830	R.0113	17,889	8,768	49.01	9,121	50.99
1841	R.0262; R.0265	23,684	11,047	46.64	12,637	53.36
1846-52	R.0347; R.0637	28,863	14,537	50.36	14,326	49.63
1876		44,380	23,443	52.82	20,937	47.18
1940		115,072	76,735	66.68	38,337	33.32

HUAMANGA

1830	R.0096; R.0094	18,167	16,758	92.24	1,409	7.76
1876		29,905	26,331	88.05	3,574	11.95
1940		51,509	45,184	87.72	6,325	12.28

HUANCANE

1830	R.0122; R.0121	42,773	41,362	96.7	1,411	3.3
1850	R.0405; Arch. Nac.	53,255	50,754	95.3	2,501	4.7
1876		58,111	52,971	91.15	5,140	8.85
1940		132,488	120,686	91.09	11,802	8.91

HUANCAVELICA

1827-30	R.0069; R.0098	18,001	14,285	79.36	3,716	20.64
1876		50,106	39,139	78.11	10,967	21.89
1940		117,743	97,446	82.76	20,297	17.24

HUANUCO

1828	R.0053	14,534	9,048	62.25	5,486	37.75
1876		34,601	23,698	68.49	10,903	31.51
1940		118,952	71,769	60.33	47,183	39.67

TABLE 3.—Summary of caste totals and percentages, by province and year, 1826-1940, arranged by territorial units as of 1826/54—Continued

HUARI

Year	Sources	Total	Indians	Percent of total	Others	Percent of total
1846	R.0333; R.0331; R.0330	42,661	9,327	21.86	33,334	78.14
1876		59,766	20,152	33.72	39,614	66.28
1940		89,807	55,379	61.66	34,428	38.34

HUAROCHIRI

1850	Census	14,258				
1852	O. L. uncat.		13,394	93.94		
1876		14,397	13,027	90.48	1,370	9.52
1940		36,663	13,823	37.70	22,840	62.30

²⁴ By subtracting Indians for 1852 from census of 1850.

HUAYLAS

1836	R.0202; R.0201	61,642	30,881	50.1	30,761	49.9
1846-49	R.0336; R.0368; R.0367	70,437	36,429	51.72	34,008	48.28
1876		109,823	62,335	56.76	47,488	43.24
1940		172,360	105,775	61.37	66,585	38.63

ICA

1830	R.0115; R.0116	7,033	4,754	67.60	2,279	32.40
1840	R.0241	6,221		48.15		
1850	Census	12,920				
1876		37,789	17,982	47.69	19,807	52.41
1940		99,393	16,082	16.18	83,311	83.82

²⁵ By subtracting R.0241 from census of 1850.

JAEN

1780	Arch. Nac. Bogotá	6,851	2,934	42.83	3,917	68.17
1788	Martínez de C.	6,200	3,047	49.15	3,153	50.85
1837	R.0214		1,986	29.62		
1837	Guía . . . 1837	6,706				
1849	R.0395	7,345	2,214	30.14	5,131	69.86
1876		12,626	6,166	48.84	6,460	51.10
1940		44,684	7,959	17.81	36,725	82.19

²⁶ By subtracting R.0214 from Guía . . . 1837.

JAUJA

1835	²⁷ R.0182	17,317	9,890	57.11	7,427	42.89
1837	Guía . . . 1837	61,023				
1845-46	R.0320; R.0348; R.0349	93,033	48,927	52.59	44,106	47.41
1876		125,259	70,732	56.47	54,527	43.53
1940		258,192	153,843	59.58	104,349	40.42

²⁷ Figures complete for present-day territory of Jauja Province only.

LIMA

1836	Guía . . . 1841	65,116	9,690	14.88	55,426	85.12
1876		120,994	26,414	21.83	94,580	78.17
1940		562,885	27,944	4.96	534,941	95.04

LUCANAS

1830	R.0100; R.0099	13,843	11,002	79.48	2,841	20.52
1876		23,852	17,056	71.51	6,796	28.49
1940		69,867	49,777	71.25	20,090	28.75

TABLE 3.—Summary of caste totals and percentages, by province and year, 1826–1940, arranged by territorial units as of 1826/54—Continued

PARINACOCNAS

Year	Sources	Total	Indians	Percent of total	Others	Percent of total
1826	R.0042		²⁸ 14,538 (2,256)	44.81		
1830	R.0101	²⁸ (5,035)			²⁸ (2,779)	55.19
1846	R.0341; R.0343	20,166	12,713	63.04	7,453	36.96
1876		26,204	17,816	67.99	8,388	32.01
1940		40,431	21,012	51.97	19,419	48.03

²⁸ Taxpayers only. Total not given but calculated from R.0101 and R.0042.

PARURO

1830	Arch. Nac. uncat.		11,498			
	<i>El Correo</i> (1840)	²⁹ (3,459)	(2,792)	80.72	(667)	19.28
1845	R.0319				1,767	9.97
1850	Census	17,732	³⁰ 15,965	90.03		
1876		16,800	9,921	59.05	6,879	40.95
1940		29,133	20,661	70.92	8,472	29.08

²⁹ The printed figures of 1840 repeat the MS. figures of 1830, but mention taxpayers only.

³⁰ By subtracting R.0319 from census of 1850.

PATAZ

1835–37	R.0273; R.0179	17,355	7,476	43.08	9,879	62.92
1847	R.0360				8,220	41.22
1850	Census	19,940	³¹ 17,720	88.78		
1876		29,244	19,763	67.58	9,481	32.42
1940		50,706	11,619	22.91	39,087	77.09

³¹ By subtracting R.0360 from total in census of 1850.

PAUCARTAMBO

1830	R.0106				783	6.68
	<i>El Penitente</i> , 1834	11,720	10,937	³² 93.32		
	<i>El Correo</i> , 1840	11,720				
	<i>El Correo</i> , 1840 ³³	(3,323)	(3,042)	91.45	(281)	8.46
1845	R.0375		14,641	85.09		
1850	Census	17,206			³⁴ 2,565	14.91
1876		14,086	12,211	86.69	1,875	13.31
1940		28,666	24,693	86.14	3,973	13.86

³² By subtracting R.0106 from total for 1834.

³³ Taxpayers only.

³⁴ By subtracting R.0375 from census of 1850.

PIURA

1828	<i>Arbitraje</i> 1906				22,872	42.5
1837	<i>Guía . . . 1837</i>	53,815	³⁵ 90,943	57.5		
1876		135,615	79,792	58.84	55,823	41.16
1940		434,314	154,890	35.66	279,424	64.34

³⁵ By subtracting figure for 1828 from *Guía . . . 1837*.

QUISPICANCHIS

1826	R.0049; R.0048	26,778	23,033	86.01	3,745	13.99
1830	R.0108; R.0107	31,360	27,297	87.04	4,063	12.96
1876		37,938	29,814	78.59	8,124	21.41
1940		75,618	60,223	79.64	15,395	20.36

SANTA

1837	R.0257; R.0617	2,159	415	19.22	1,744	80.78
1850	R.0452	4,752	852	17.93	3,900	82.07
1876		18,639	5,584	29.96	13,055	70.04
1940		33,955	7,672	22.59	26,283	77.41

TABLE 3.—Summary of caste totals and percentages, by province and year, 1826–1940, arranged by territorial units as of 1826/54—Continued

TACNA and ARICA

Year	Sources	Total	Indians	Percent of total	Others	Percent of total
1830	AHMH uncat.	20,305	12,579	61.95	7,726	38.05
1876		36,009	21,807	60.56	14,202	39.44
1940	Minus Arica	36,349	18,963	52.17	17,386	47.83

TARAPACA

1840	R.0621	9,629	5,797	60.2	3,832	39.8
1845	R.0308; R.0621	10,418	5,825	55.91	4,593	44.09
1876		38,225	16,686	43.65	21,539	56.35
1940	(Province passed to Chile).					

TAYACAJA

1830	Arch. Nac. uncat.	³⁶ 20,345			4,727	23.23
1841	R.0261		15,618	76.77		
1846	R.0351		20,820	76.68		
1850	Census	27,151			³⁷ 6,331	23.32
1876		38,161	27,098	71.01	11,063	28.99
1940		84,059	69,203	82.33	14,856	17.67

³⁶ By adding figures for 1830 and 1841.

³⁷ By subtracting R.0351 from census of 1850.

TRUJILLO

1788	Martínez de Compañón.	12,032	4,577	38.04	7,455	61.96
1837	<i>Guía . . . 1837</i>	12,032				
1850	Census	7,211	³⁸ 4,164	57.75		
1852	R.0639				3,047	42.25
1876		32,559	10,622	32.62	21,937	67.38
1940		116,682	11,600	9.94	105,082	90.06

³⁸ By subtracting R.0639 from census of 1850.

UNION

1826–30	R.0042; R.0101	3,959	3,380	85.38	579	14.62
1845–46	R.0340; R.0307	6,670	4,501	67.48	2,169	32.52
1876		7,038	4,008	56.95	3,030	43.05
1940		8,089	5,243	64.82	2,846	35.18

URUBAMBA

1826	Arch. Nac. uncat.	15,089	9,568	63.41	5,521	36.59
1830	R.0110; R.0109	13,393	9,585	71.57	3,808	28.43
1852	R.0636; R.0635	11,418	10,866	95.17	552	4.83
1876		26,870	15,550	57.87	11,320	42.13
1940		56,801	29,178	51.37	27,623	48.63

YAUUYOS

1826–36	R.0206; R.0055	14,858	13,563	91.28	1,295	8.72
1851	<i>Guía . . . 1851</i>	15,264	13,619	89.22	1,645	10.78
1876		15,075	13,784	91.44	1,291	8.56
1940		26,675	10,161	38.09	16,514	61.91

THE CENSUS OF 1795

The census of 1795, prepared in 1791–95 for Viceroy Gil de Taboada y Lemos, was published as an appendix to Manuel Fuentes' *Memorias de los virreyes* (1859, vol. 6, App. pp. 6–9). The document was signed by José Ignacio de Le-

quando, and dated January 10, 1796.²⁵ It is incomplete for our purposes, for it contains no mention of the provinces of what is today the Department of Puno in southern Peru. These provinces in 1795 were no longer part of the Viceroyalty of Peru, but had passed to the jurisdiction of the Audiencia of Charcas, in the Viceroyalty of Buenos Aires. The census of 1795 is also defective in its tabulations for the northern provinces. The figures for the Intendency of Trujillo are identical with those given about 1788 by Bishop Martínez de Compañón.²⁶ Otherwise the census appears to have been based upon provincial tax registers similar to those of the period 1826-54.²⁷

Although purporting to represent the size of the population of Peru in 1795, the figures of this census are in general closely similar to those of earlier census report dated 1792. This also was prepared for Viceroy Taboada y Lemos by the Inspector General, Jorge Escobedo, whose activity as a tax expert has already been mentioned. Jorge Escobedo's report is public only in an extract by Vargas Ugarte,²⁸ so that we have to rely on the full figures, classified by race and status, as published by Fuentes.

Table 4 presents the substance of the census of 1795. The political divisions are not the same as those of the early Republic. It therefore seemed advisable to keep the figures for 1795 separate from those of later periods. The political divisions nevertheless are the same as those described by Dr. Cosme Bueno.²⁹ The work of Dr. Bueno is the basis of our map of late colonial Peru (map 1). It serves to illustrate a number of

points, when adjustment is made in respect to later provincial boundary changes.

TABLE 4.—*The census of 1795*

Intendency and Province	Total	Indians	Percent of total	Others	Percent of total
Lima:					
Cercado.....	62,910	9,744	15.49	53,166	84.51
Cañete.....	12,616	7,025	55.68	5,591	44.32
Ica.....	20,576	6,607	32.11	13,969	67.89
Yauyos.....	9,574	8,005	83.61	1,569	16.39
Huachiriri.....	14,024	13,084	93.3	940	6.7
Canta.....	12,133	10,333	85.16	1,800	14.84
Chancay.....	13,945	7,500	53.78	6,445	46.22
Santa.....	3,334	873	26.18	2,461	73.82
Trujillo:					
Trujillo.....	12,031	4,577	38.04	7,454	61.96
Lambayeque.....	35,193	22,333	63.46	12,860	36.54
Piura.....	44,491	24,797	55.73	19,694	44.27
Cajamarca.....	62,196	29,692	47.74	32,504	52.26
Huamachuco.....	38,150	17,117	44.87	21,033	55.13
Pataz.....	13,508	4,627	34.25	8,881	65.75
Chachapoyas.....	25,398	12,504	49.23	12,894	50.77
Arequipa:					
Arequipa.....	37,241	5,929	15.92	31,312	84.08
Camaná.....	10,023	1,249	12.46	8,774	87.54
Condesuyos.....	20,110	12,011	59.73	8,099	40.27
Collaguas (Cailloma).....	13,905	11,872	85.38	2,033	14.62
Moquegua.....	28,197	17,272	61.25	10,925	38.75
Arica.....	18,726	12,820	68.46	5,906	31.54
Tarapacá.....	7,973	5,456	68.43	2,517	31.57
Tarma:					
Tarma.....	34,911	18,821	53.91	16,090	46.09
Janja.....	52,286	28,477	54.46	23,809	45.54
Cajatambo.....	16,872	10,500	62.23	6,372	37.77
Huaylas.....	40,822	20,935	51.28	19,887	48.72
Conchucos.....	25,308	9,899	39.11	15,409	60.89
Huamaldas.....	14,234	8,957	62.93	5,277	37.07
Huánuco.....	16,826	7,598	45.16	9,228	54.84
Huancavelica:					
Huancavelica.....	5,146	3,803	73.9	1,343	26.1
Angaroes.....	3,245	2,691	82.93	554	17.07
Tayacaja.....	13,161	9,020	68.54	4,141	31.46
Castrovirreyna.....	9,365	8,385	89.54	980	10.46
Huamanga:					
Huamanga.....	25,821	20,373	78.9	5,448	21.1
Anco.....	2,022	1,744	86.25	278	13.75
Huanta.....	27,337	16,981	62.12	10,356	37.88
Cangallo.....	12,474	10,011	80.25	2,463	19.75
Andahuaylas.....	12,020	5,000	41.6	7,020	58.4
Lucanas.....	15,725	12,700	80.76	3,025	19.24
Paríacochas.....	16,011	8,475	52.93	7,536	47.07
Cuzco:					
Cuzco.....	31,982	14,254	44.57	17,728	55.43
Abancay.....	25,259	18,419	72.92	6,840	27.08
Aimaraes.....	15,281	10,782	70.56	4,499	29.44
Calca and Lares.....	6,199	5,519	89.03	680	10.97
Urubamba.....	9,250	5,164	55.83	4,086	44.17
Cotabambas.....	19,824	18,237	91.99	1,587	8.01
Paruro.....	20,236	15,034	74.29	5,202	25.71
Chumbivilcas.....	15,973	11,475	71.84	4,498	28.16
Tinta.....	34,968	29,045	83.06	5,923	16.94
Quispicanchis.....	24,337	19,947	81.96	4,390	18.04
Paucartambo.....	12,937	11,229	86.56	1,744	13.44
Added total.....	1,076,122	608,902	56.58	467,220	43.42
Text total.....	1,076,122	608,894	-----	467,220	-----

THE CENSUS OF 1836

The census of 1836 was the earliest attempt under Republican government to base a count upon the tax registers (Paz Soldan, 1877, p. xxi). Unfortunately it is valid only for the northern Departments, and not for all provinces there. In the southern Departments the compilation merely repeated the viceregal figures of 1795. The census of 1836 was published only as an appendix to the annual almanacs of the period, without caste classifications, and with immense territorial la-

²⁵ Brief remarks on this census by Area Parró, in *Censo Nacional*, 1940, vol. 1, p. xxix. On Colonial demographic reports in general, see Fuentes, H., 1917, and Kubler, 1946, pp. 334-340.

²⁶ MS. in ANB, Martínez de Compañón, Baltasar Jaime. 1782-89. Plate No. 3 is entitled "ESTADO que demuestra el numero de Abitantes del Obispado de Truxillo del Peru con distincion de castas formado por su actual Obispo." The MS. in the Biblioteca del Palacio, Madrid, contains the same table as No. 5 in vol. 1. This table has never been published, although mentioned by Domínguez Bordona, 1936.

²⁷ Of the tax registers of the late eighteenth century, only one survives to present knowledge. It is preserved in the archive of the Foreign Office in Lima, and relates to the Indian population of Lampa Province in 1797. The report is incomplete. RR. EE. 5-29. "Revisita o Matricula de Indios del Partido de Lampa Jurisdiccion del Gobierno e Intendencia de la Prov^a de Puno. Formado por el D. D. José Mariano Clemente Peralta de Peralta y Valdez . . . [Iniciada en 4 de junio de 1797]. Tomo 2."

²⁸ Vargas Ugarte, 1938, vol. 2, pp. 370-371. Escobedo's figures reappear in another version about 1793, commonly attributed to the traveler Taddeo Haenke (Haenke, 1901). On the incorrect attribution of this work to Haenke, see Vargas Ugarte, 1935, vol. 1, p. 24.

²⁹ Bueno, 1763-78. (For further bibliographical description of this work, see Schwab, 1948, pp. 35-38.)



MAP 1.—Provinces of Peru at the end of the eighteenth century, based on the geographical data by Cosme Bueno, 1763–78, and on the census of 1795.

cunae. To call it a census is to dignify it by an undeserved title. The tax registers themselves are the only reliable material for a census in the period before 1876.

In 1837 Paredes first published the figures for the Departments of what was then called the North Peruvian State, with totals by provinces. The figures are very useful, although detailed racial and geographical classification is missing, for the reason that they supply totals for certain provinces, such as Canta or Piura, for which the tax registers now are missing. Paredes himself, however, was unable to find tax registers for the Province of Trujillo. In their absence, he was obliged to rely upon figures of 1795. As the Province of Maynas was demographically unknown in 1837, Paredes was unable to supply any current figures for its population (Paredes, 1837, pp. 115-116).

Figures for the southern Departments were published in an almanac of 1842 (Carrasco, p. 29). Another version of these figures appeared a year earlier in 1841,³⁰ but it was incomplete and contradictory in certain points with the figures of 1842 (see table 5).

The figures for the whole Republic, when compared, are unreliable. Table 6 shows that the figures for the southern Departments and for Trujillo Province are merely the old figures of 1795, and that they bear no relation to the Republican tax registers.

To the student in 1837 these figures gave some measure of the failure of 16 years of Republican government to achieve the prosperity and abundance that had been promised on the morrow of Independence. In 1826, Paredes had access only to the figures of the census of 1795. Upon contemplating them he wrote (Paredes, 1828):

En los 32 años corridos desde 1795, ha debido doblarse por lo menos la poblacion, si se considera que en todo ese tiempo no ha sufrido el Peru hambres, pestes, ni otras plagas de la naturaleza, y que en compensativa de la guerra que hace 16 años, tambien ha disfrutado, ha mas de 19, del beneficio de la vacuna, y otros que favorecen el incremento de la poblacion. Si practicado el nuevo censo, resulta estacionaria o tal vez disminuida, sera la

³⁰ Ed. Carrasco, 1841. The relevant information is tabulated here, for comparison with the figures published in 1842. We have used it again in the table by provinces, where Carrasco's material can be used to eke out the gaps in the tax register file (table 3).

TABLE 5.—Data from almanacs, 1837-42 (entire populations)

Department and Province	Calendario y Guia . . . 1837	Calendario y Guia . . . 1841	Calendario y Guia . . . 1842
Amazonas	35,991		71,267
Chachapoyas	18,426		
Mainas			
Pataz	17,565		
La Libertad	216,244		216,064
Cajamarca	41,993	42,762	
Chota	15,438		
Huamachuco	43,058		
Jaén	6,706		
Lambayeque	43,202		
Piura	53,815	53,815	
Trujillo	12,032		
Lima	151,718		151,718
Canta	13,932		
Cafete	13,892		
Chancay	18,712		
Huarochari	16,549		
Ica	18,031		
Lima	58,326	65,116	
Yauyos	12,276		
Junín	144,243		144,243
Cajatambo	18,464		
Huamalfes	13,172		
Huánuco	14,534		
Jauja	61,023		
Pasco	37,050		
Huaylas (Ancash)	121,462		121,462
Conchucos Alto	25,091		
Conchucos Bajo	44,110		
Huaylas	49,667		
Santa	2,594		
Ayacucho and Huancavelica			159,608
Cuzco			216,382
Puno			156,000
Arequipa and Tacna			136,812
Total			1,373,736

TABLE 6.—The census of 1795 and the census of 1836 (entire populations)

Department	1795	1836
Lima	149,112	151,718
Ayacucho	159,608	159,608
Cuzco	216,382	216,382
Arequipa	136,812	136,812
Junín	200,839	144,243
Libertad	230,970	216,244
Puno	156,000	156,00

prueba mas palmaria del Gobierno homicida que nos rijio hasta la independencia.³¹

(In 32 years elapsed since 1795, the population should have doubled at least, if it be taken into account that in all this time Peru has not suffered famine or pest or the other plagues of nature. In addition, and to compensate for the war of 16 years ago, Peru has also enjoyed for over 19 years the benefit of vaccination, and other benefits that favor the increase of population. When the new census has been taken, if the population has been stationary or even diminished, it will be the most flagrant proof of the homicidal character of the Government that ruled us until Independence.)

³¹ Language denouncing the Colonial regime is a commonplace in the tax collectors' reports of this period.

Total Whites Indians

P. 60, Prov. Lima, census of 1836	65,116	21,474	9,690
P. 129, Prov. Cajamarca	42,762		22,787

The comparison of table 6 leaves the question equally divided between the Colonial and Republican regimes:

Territory:	1795	1836	Increase (percent)
Junín and Huaylas	200, 839	265, 705	24. 5
Libertad and Amazonas	230, 970	252, 235	8. 3
Lima	149, 112	151, 718	1. 5
Total	580, 921	669, 658	13. 25

In 41 years the increase in these northern departments fell far below the anticipated doubling. To the defenders of the Colonial regime, Republican government had failed; to Republicans, the Colonial regime had burdened them with its depletion of the human resources of the country.

THE CENSUS OF 1850

The census of 1850 was prepared by the Ministry of War upon the basis of the tax registers since 1826. Its purpose was to buttress a presidential decree ordering the recruitment of fresh troops of infantry and cavalry for impending hostilities with Bolivia (*El Peruano*, 1850, vol. 23, p. 141). The census was first published together with the decree ordering the levy of new troops on the basis of recruits per thousand population. The census is dated April 25 and the decree April 27.³² One week later a corrected version of the census appeared, claiming to include foreigners and slaves, with corrections based upon the most recent registers. The revision raised the total population of the Republic beyond two million, and permitted the Government to publish a figure pushing up the number of recruits per thousand inhabitants.³³

Table 7 shows both original and corrected figures as published.

TABLE 7.—*The census of 1850 (entire populations)*

Department and Province	Apr. 25, 1850	May 4, 1850
Amazonas	39, 074	
Chachapoyas	27, 728	
Mainas	11, 346	
Ancash	155, 779	
Huari	38, 638	
Huaylas	69, 077	
Santa	5, 349	
Conchucos	42, 715	
Ayacucho	129, 921	130, 070
Andahuaylas	19, 184	
Cangallo	20, 027	20, 176
Huamanga	29, 617	
Huanta	26, 358	
Lucanas	15, 401	
Paríacochas	19, 334	
Arequipa	121, 585	135, 361
Cercado	50, 040	63, 816
Camaná	11, 270	
Cailloma	23, 446	
Condesuyos	21, 170	
Unión	15, 659	
Cuzco	346, 211	
Abancay	21, 912	
Anta	22, 980	
Aimaraes	18, 228	
Cercado	41, 152	
Calca	14, 223	
Canas	37, 605	
Canchis	32, 106	
Chumbivilcas	22, 050	
Cotabambas	23, 241	
Paruro	17, 732	
Paucartambo	17, 206	
Quispicanchis	49, 416	
Urubamba	28, 360	
Huancavelica	76, 118	
Angaraes	17, 301	
Cercado	17, 318	
Castrovirreyna	14, 348	
Tayacaja	27, 151	
Junín	245, 722	
Cajatambo	24, 799	
Huamantes	32, 027	
Huánuco	26, 189	
Jauja	89, 796	
Pasco	70, 911	
La Libertad	202, 662	261, 553
Cajamarca	46, 122	
Chiclayo	25, 133	
Chota	62, 597	
Huamachuco	11, 417	60, 854
Jaén	7, 560	
Lambayeque	22, 682	
Pataz	19, 940	29, 394
Trujillo	7, 211	
Lima	180, 923	
Cercado	85, 116	
Canta	14, 384	
Cafete	15, 553	
Chancay	23, 428	
Huacochiri	14, 258	
Yauyos	15, 264	
Ica	12, 920	
Moquegua	61, 440	
Arica	18, 642	
Cercado	32, 380	
Tarapacá	10, 418	
Puno	245, 681	286, 148
Asángaro	54, 333	
Carabaya	22, 138	22, 605
Chucuito	35, 957	75, 957
Huancané	56, 765	
Lampa	76, 488	
Callao	8, 352	
Piura	74, 372	
Total Republic	1, 887, 840	2, 001, 123

³² *El Peruano*, 1850, vol. 23, p. 141, "El anterior Censo es sacado de las ultimas matriculas que existen archivadas en la Direccion Jeneral de Hacienda. Lima a 25 de Abril de 1850. Buenaventura Seoane, Oficial Mayor del Ministerio de Guerra y Marina."

³³ *El Peruano*, 1850, vol. 23, No. 37, 4 May, p. 144. "Censo rectificado de la Republica. El anterior Censo, en el que no estan incluidos los extranjeros ni los esclavos, ha sido sacado y rectificado conforme a las ultimas matriculas que existen archivadas en la Direccion Jeneral de Hacienda. Lima a 4 de Mayo de 1850. B. S."

Ibid., "Circular a los Prefectos y Gobernadores litorales . . . Habiendo llegado algunas matriculas despues de formado el censo . . . y . . . resultando . . . haber . . . 2001123 almas y caber un recluta por cada fraccion de 1287 [scale of recruitment altered from former rate of 1214 persons per recruit] . . . Pedro Cisneros."

On Early Republican army recruitment, see Lavandais, 1851; Bowen, 1861, p. 230; Basadre, 1929, vol. 1, p. 99; Saenz, 1933, p. 170; Beals, 1934, p. 377.

THE CENSUS OF 1862

The only detailed figures of this census that have been published, appeared in 1877.³⁴ Paz Soldan used the data of 1862 for virtually all demographic matters, excepting the general tables in the article "Peru." These tables were based upon the census of 1876, which became available to Paz Soldan as his work went to press. Because the count of 1862 lacks classification by caste, its figures cannot be used here.

THE CENSUS OF 1876

Arca Parró has published a brief study of the value of this head count (Peru: Censo Nacional, 1944, vol. 1, pp. xxxi-xxxiii). In the provinces the census was directed by Army officers. In Lima the work was under the direction of the French statistician, Georges Marchand. The results were published by Manuel Atanasio Fuentes (Peru: Censo General, 1878). Many critics have pointed to the negligence of officials who omitted the count through indolence in settlements of considerable size, and to the defective methods of questioning that were used. On the other hand, the census was the first rigorous effort, to count the population, and it was a document that profoundly affected later governmental policy in respect to demographic questions.

For our purposes the census is valuable because it yields approximate measures of caste in 1876. The published tables by district, province, and Department include a classification according to white, mestizo, Indian, Negro, Asiatic and other races. The territorial adjustments to earlier geographical divisions can in all cases be made without gross errors. Table 8 gives the provincial

TABLE 8.—*The census of 1876*

Department and Province	Total	Indians	Indian percentage
Ancash:			
Huacra	59,766	20,152	33.72
Huacra	58,317	34,923	59.88
Huaylas	51,506	27,412	53.22
Cajatambo	31,036	20,399	65.73
Pallasca	22,625	7,016	31.01
Pomabamba	42,941	17,306	40.3
Santa	18,639	5,584	29.96
Amazonas:			
Bongará	3,344	2,882	86.18
Chachapoyas	16,894	7,725	45.73
Luya	14,046	7,594	54.07
Apurimac:			
Abancay	16,449	8,226	50.01
Andahuaylas	48,100	26,167	54.4
Antabamba	7,144	3,388	47.42
Aimaraes	18,186	7,055	38.79
Cotabambas	28,646	19,845	69.28
Arequipa:			
Arequipa	59,696	18,273	30.61
Camana	15,675	2,237	14.27
Castilla	23,480	11,004	46.87

TABLE 8.—*The census of 1876—Continued*

Department and Province	Total	Indians	Indian percentage
Arequipa—Continued			
Cailloma	19,264	16,601	86.18
Condesuyos	11,099	7,246	65.29
Islay	8,533	1,502	17.6
La Unión	19,299	11,193	58.
Ayacucho:			
Cangallo	21,356	18,231	85.37
Huamanga	31,237	26,468	84.73
Huanta	15,322	7,560	49.34
La Mar	24,144	15,696	65.01
Lucanas	28,852	17,056	59.15
Parinacochas	26,304	17,816	67.73
Cajamarca:			
Cajabamba	19,168	8,501	44.35
Cajamarca	55,559	22,808	41.05
Celendin	13,602	1,802	13.25
Contumaza	13,377	3,120	23.32
Chota	51,016	15,595	30.57
Hualgayoc	47,298	15,814	33.43
Jaén	12,726	6,166	48.45
Callao: Callao	34,492	8,228	23.85
Cuzco:			
Acomayo	17,567	14,334	81.6
Anta	21,668	15,282	70.53
Calca	14,086	11,017	78.21
Canas	35,866	33,720	94.02
Canchis	35,482	30,366	85.58
Convención	10,189	6,944	68.15
Cuzco	23,108	9,455	40.91
Chumbivilcas	17,128	15,568	90.89
Paruro	16,800	9,921	59.05
Pucallpa	14,086	12,211	86.69
Quispicanchis	20,371	15,480	75.99
Urubamba	16,681	8,606	51.59
Huancavelica:			
Angaraes	26,464	17,794	67.24
Castroville	14,802	14,686	99.22
Huancavelica	23,642	21,345	90.28
Tayacaja	38,161	27,102	71.02
Huánuco:			
Dos de Mayo	22,791	14,491	63.58
Huamalis	21,589	8,952	41.47
Huánuco	34,611	23,798	68.76
Ica:			
Chincha	30,284	16,912	55.84
Ica	29,971	16,176	53.97
Junín:			
Huancayo	60,236	35,848	59.51
Jauja	59,697	31,413	52.62
Pasco	44,796	33,404	74.57
Tarma	45,030	28,810	63.98
Lambayeque:			
Chilcayo	34,437	17,899	51.98
Lambayeque	52,301	30,700	58.7
La Libertad:			
Huamachuco	39,827	13,062	32.8
Otuzco	29,938	8,773	29.3
Pacasmayo	15,768	5,637	35.75
Pataz	29,244	19,763	67.58
Trujillo	32,559	10,622	32.62
Lima:			
Canta	16,650	14,978	89.96
Cafete	22,244	14,524	65.29
Chancay	36,440	17,903	49.13
Huachiriri	14,397	13,027	90.48
Lima	120,994	26,414	21.83
Yauyos	15,075	12,918	85.69
Loreto:			
Alto Amazonas	7,756	6,969	89.85
Bajo Amazonas	9,632	7,330	76.1
Huallaga	26,921	12,534	46.56
Moyobamba	17,596	2,916	16.57
Moquegua: Moquegua	28,785	19,041	66.15
Piura:			
Ayabaca	35,576	17,664	49.65
Huancabamba	17,985	12,883	71.63
Paita	21,077	8,442	40.05
Piura	55,099	39,455	71.61
Tumbes	5,878	1,348	22.93
Puno:			
Asángaro	46,338	43,710	94.33
Carabaya	11,221	9,856	87.84
Chucuito	42,353	40,183	94.88
Huancané	44,525	42,860	96.26
Lampa	44,811	40,563	90.52
Puno	57,480	51,125	88.94
Sandia	12,721	10,864	85.40
Tacna:			
Arica	9,041	4,086	45.19
Tacna	19,245	10,572	54.93
Tarata	7,723	7,149	92.57
Tarapacá: Tarapacá	38,225	16,686	43.65

³⁴ Paz Soldan, 1877, pp. xxii, 740. The total for the Republic was 2,487,916.

¹ Another estimate in the same text section gives 30,479 inhabitants, but without indicating "racial" subtotals.

figures, reduced to total populations, and Indian percentages of the whole populations, in terms of the provincial divisions of 1876. The figures of table 8 are recombined as necessary for comparison with earlier or later periods, in the other tables and maps of this report.

THE CENSUS OF 1940

A detailed critique of the misleading "racial" concept according to which the census of 1940 was completed, has been published by John Rowe (1947, pp. 202-215). It is a critique that seeks to establish a more rigorous cultural definition of the Indian than the one used in the census. The truth remains, however, that recent Peruvian administrative policy follows the figures on Indians as published in the volumes of the census. The political reality of Indian problems today rests upon these figures. For our purposes they are valuable in their published form and without Rowe's corrections, for the simple reason that they

describe caste status in Peru, as recorded by thousands of census takers, and as admitted by the subjects to whom the question concerning "race" was addressed. In this sense, the head count of 1940 is exactly comparable to the census of 1876, with its identical confusion between "race" and caste. Both enumerations tabulate and quantify a general social attitude toward caste, under the misleading name of "race." The figures themselves are fully published in the census report of 1940 (Peru: Censo Nacional, 1944-49). The percentages of Indian population are published by province in Rowe's article (his table 1), which we therefore do not reproduce here.³⁵ The census does not publish separately the figures for whites and mestizos, which appear together under the common heading as "raza blanca y mestiza."

³⁵ On Rowe's map, 1947, fig. 1, Yauli and Pasco; Huari and Huaylas Provinces are interchanged, as in the erroneous *Censo Nacional* maps of 1940.

THE COMPOSITION AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE PERUVIAN PEOPLE, 1795-1940

In Peru the quantitative relationships between Indian and non-Indian groups have long been governed by the processes of caste formation and caste recruitment. "Racial" criteria intervene only by verbal confusion, when the biological terms of everyday usage, such as "Indian" and "mestizo," are made to perform double duty as terms denoting caste status. Throughout the past century and a half in Peru, people have said "Indian" when they meant "rural proletariat." They said "mestizo" when they meant the small farmer, the artisan, the industrial laborer, or the member of other low-income groups not attached to the land.³⁶

An excellent text to illustrate these verbal confusions may be taken from the last years of the Colonial regime in Peru. Dated 1819, it appears in a manuscript³⁷ that survived the fire of the National Library in Lima in 1943. The manuscript contains, among other materials bearing upon the *tributo de indios*, three pages written by one Dionisio Farfán, who was the tax collector of the province of Chachapoyas in 1819. The text of this *informe* apparently was composed to

accompany the *matricula de indígenas* compiled by Farfán. It was received at the *Contaduría General* in Lima on September 15, 1819.

After noting that he had registered more Indian tributaries than his predecessors, Farfán commented upon the difficulties of distinguishing between Indians and mestizos. The passage clearly indicates his perplexity in trying to adhere to any "biological" concept of race.

Y este aumento habria sido mas considerable si hubiera podido numerar muchos individuos que pasan por Mestizos y se [re]nunciaron por de clase Indica, pero aunque realmente son Cholos, segun sus aspectos, era tal el exfuerso con que defendieron su libertad, para substraerse del Empadronamiento, negando u obscureciendo con el propio fin su verdadera calidad, q no hubo arbitrio de comprehenderlos.

(This increase would have been greater if I had been able to count many persons who pass as mestizos, having renounced their Indian status. Although these are really Cholos, according to appearances, they defended their freedom with such effort, to escape being registered, by denying or concealing their true quality for this purpose that there was no way of including them.)

Farfán here introduces the concept of the Cholo, whom he apparently regards as intermediate between the Indian and the mestizo. The next

³⁶ On whites, see p. 5, footnote 12.

³⁷ MS. in BNL, uncataloged. "Instruccion de Matriculas de Indios por [Julian] Orodea [de la Cuesta]. Grál 605. 1820." 27 fos.

paragraph of his *informe* gives further light on the term.

Se dice Mestiço el descendiente de Padre de esta casta aunque la Madre sea India, o vice versa, quando verdaderam^{te} son Cholos.

(A man calls himself a mestizo as the son of a father of this caste, although his mother be Indian, or vice versa, when in truth such people are Cholos.)

Farfán implies that the true mestizo was at least half white; and that any smaller fraction of white parentage classified the individual as a Cholo. Farfán also comments upon the growing number of non-Indian people in his jurisdiction, and upon the insoluble technical problem of discriminating clearly between the "races" in his time.

Inquirir sus generaciones fue una ocupacion bien fastidiosa, en medio de la dificultad de conseguirlo. Porq hay muchos Interesados en que los Cholos sean fixos, y grande el numero de los que pasan por Mestizos no siendolos: libros de tributo para el Rey . . . Los Cholos se hallan considerados por Mestiços, y era ocio [so] el recurso a los libros Parroquiales, para hallarse con la Partida de Baptismo algun Comprobante de la calidad del Individuo. Asi eran y son los Libros y los Curas . . . testigos ineptos para descubrir y comprobar la verdad.

(To verify people's ancestry was a most tedious occupation, given the difficulty of getting the truth. Many interested parties have a stake in keeping the Cholos settled. And a number of Cholos, who pass as mestizos exempt from royal tribute, are not mestizos. But the Cholos are regarded as mestizos. It is futile to consult parish registers, in the hope of finding some evidence as to the quality of the person together with his baptismal entry. Both the registers and the priests are inadequate witnesses for discovering and proving the truth.)

Farfán implies that he would like to class the Cholos as tribute-paying Indians, by regarding as Indian every person in whom he could prove less than one-half white ancestry.

The tax registers between 1826 and 1854, however, resolved the problem by an honest verbal device. Instead of referring to the non-Indian groups by misleading racial tags, such as appear in the census of 1876 and in 1940, the *apoderados fiscales* nearly always enumerated the non-Indian lower-income groups as *castas*. This term, which literally signifies "the castes," fully conveys the status-bound character of these groups. Occasionally an *apoderado fiscal* adhered to the usage of the province in which he was employed, and reverted to pseudobiological words, as in Yauyos Province in 1826, when the non-Indians were registered as *mistos*, or "mixed breeds."³⁸ In

³⁸ MS. "Revisita de Mistos de la Provincia de Yauyos, Dep. de Lima," AHMH, R.0055. 57 fos.

Huamachuco Province in 1826, the *apoderado* labeled the Indians as Cholos, which also imposes a biological definition upon a caste.³⁹

Occasionally a tax collector recorded an incident or an observation that reveals to what extent caste distinctions were elastic. For example, the *apoderado* for 1846 in Jauja Province recalled that during the War of Independence, the royalist troops in Jauja had used the parish registers to make cartridges. The *apoderado* observes that for this reason, "many who used to be Indians, have been transferred into *castas*."⁴⁰

In 1845 in the Province of La Unión, an *apoderado* named Gregorio Cornejo reported with profound insight upon the caste situation, in words that hold for the present and for the future of the Peruvian "racial" problem:⁴¹

. . . es probable que se extinga [la clase indígena] en algunos pueblos . . . por que los Indigenas, se estan casando con Mestizas, cuyos hijos siguiendo la condicion de sus madres dejan de pertenecer a esa clase.

(It is likely that the Indian class will disappear in some towns . . . for the Indians are marrying the mestizo women, whose children, by adopting the status of the mothers, cease to belong to the Indian class.)

CASTE MAJORITIES

Maps 2, 4, 6, 8, 10 display the regions of Peru in respect to the dominant "racial" group, in 1795, in 1826/54, in 1876, and in 1940. The shaded portions show provinces with non-Indian majorities of 50 percent or greater; and the unshaded areas indicate Indian majorities greater than 50 percent. Maps 1, 3, 5, and 7 display the boundaries of the provinces and their nomenclature at the same moments in time.

To show the distribution of percentages in more detail seems unprofitable, given the incompleteness of the record.⁴² It is likewise of little value to treat the "races" other than as Indian and non-Indian. By Indian we have here accepted the census taker's or the tax collector's judgment of who is an Indian, for it is with social attitudes

³⁹ MS. "Libro primero, y Duplicado de Contribucion de Indigenas, de la Provincia de Huamachuco, que comprehende la Capital de su Nombre, y sus Doctrinas de Sartinbamba, Cajabamba, Marcabal, y Amarcucho, que empeno a correr desde 1^o de Julio de 1826." AHMH, R.0054. 280 fos.

⁴⁰ MS. "Matricula de Indigenas de la Provincia de Jauja, Dpto. de Junin," AHMH, R. 0349. 223 fos. The *informe* on p. 14 is signed by the collector, Mario Linas, and dated 1846. P. 5: ". . . muchos que han pertenecido a Indigenas, han sido convertidos en Castas . . ."

⁴¹ MS. "Matricula Gral. de Indigenas de la Provincia de la Union Dep. de Arequipa," AHMH, R. 0340. 162 fos.

⁴² Complete percentage maps of "racial" distribution for 1940 are available in Rowe, 1947, figs. 2-4.

toward race, rather than with scientifically descriptive concepts of race that this paper deals.

The popular attitude toward "racial" statistics, and the attitude of the governing group are determined not by biological standards of race, but by other factors. The chief of these concerns the self-identification of people who are being counted. They may or may not allow themselves to be called Indians, mestizos, or whites. The official taking the count, on the other hand, must in each case, given the extant attitudes toward race, form a judgment about the race of the individual before him. The aggregate of these attitudes and judgments, as reported to the Government and public, affects the prevalent attitude toward "race."

The same observation holds for non-Indian "races." For all practical purposes Peru is inhabited by Indians and non-Indians. Of the latter, the mestizos form the great majority, with small groups of Caucasians, Asiatics, and Negroes. Through four centuries of population mixture, these latter groups have so thoroughly been mixed into the Peruvian gene pool that it is no longer possible or meaningful to discriminate among the crosses. In 1940 the identifiable Negroes, Asiatics, and others numbered but 1.1 percent of the Peruvian population.⁴³ White and mestizo, representing 52.89 percent, could not be separated by the census takers, so that these two categories were enumerated together as one. Our practice is to enumerate all "races" other than Indian as non-Indian. In the main, non-Indians may be taken as equivalent to mestizo. The term "mestizo" here has only a caste meaning, and no biological meaning.

It must be repeated that we are dealing, not with biological race, but with social attitudes toward race. Far more appropriate than "race" are the terms of Indian and non-Indian *castes*. Again, we are not dealing with objectively measured magnitudes, but with social approximations to the relations between the castes that are real because they are desirable to the governing group and with the tacit or passive permission of the governed groups.

Between 1795 and 1940, radical changes altered the geographical distribution of Indians and non-Indians. In 1795 an Indian world surrounded the non-Indian enclaves (map 2). These are

surprising by their extent and unity, but on the whole they were still enclaves. In 1940 the non-Indian occupation of Peru (map 8) may be compared to a sea of lowland mestizo settlers encircling the mountainous island of Indian settlement on central and southern Peru. That this figure of speech holds only for static percentages will shortly be evident.

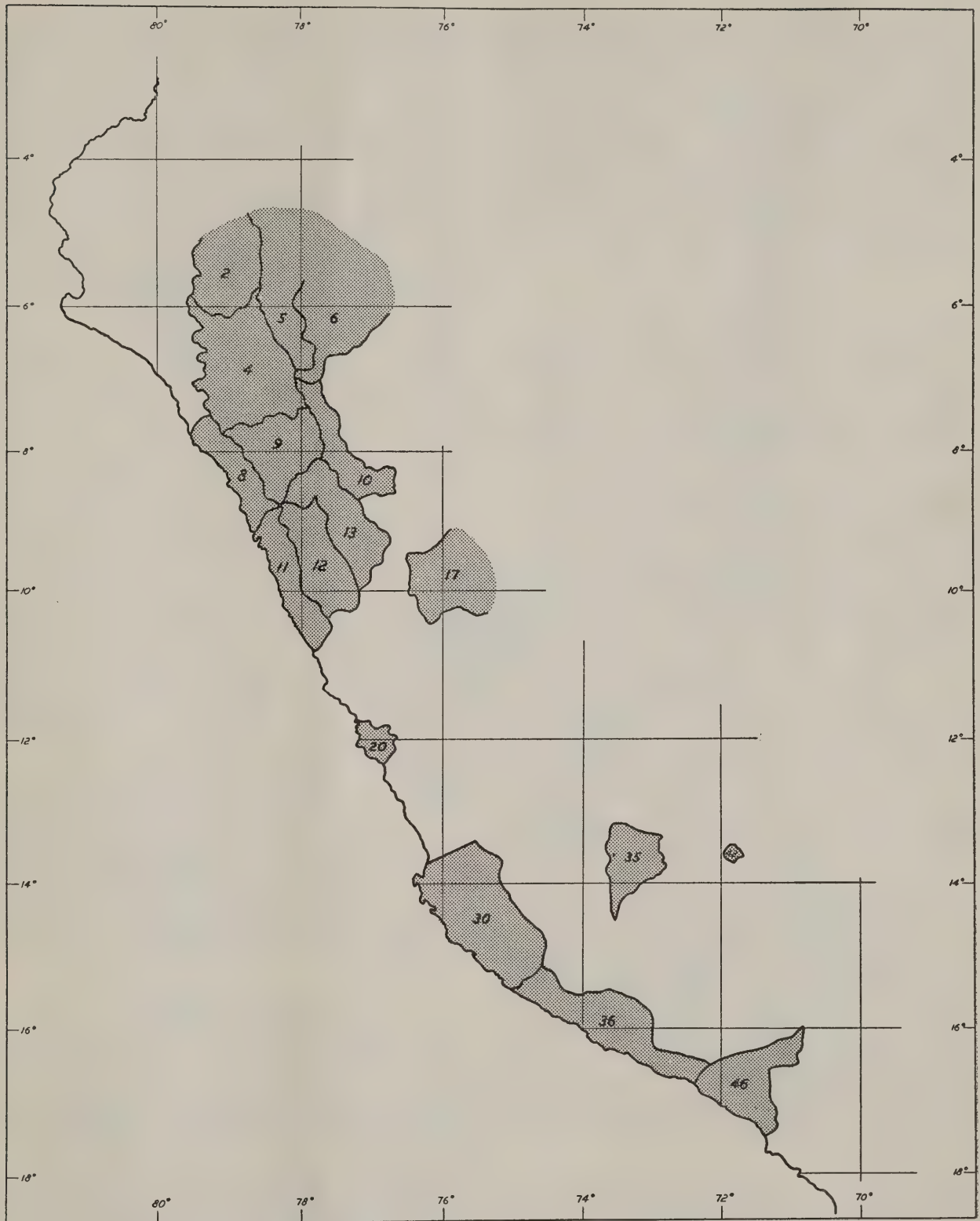
DISTRIBUTION IN 1795

In 1795 Indians were a minority in the area from the Rio de la Fortaleza to the Pacasmayo Valley, and from this coastal zone into the highlands as far as the Province of Huánuco, and northward to Jaén Province (maps 1, 2). A second great block of non-Indian majority appears on the south coast, from Pisco to Arequipa. Indian majorities are recorded for all the rest of Peru, excepting Lima and Cuzco Provinces, and Andahuaylas. The reasons for an Indian minority in Andahuaylas are nowhere explicit, for the tax collectors' reports on the economic condition of the province have not been discovered. After 1795, and to the present, Andahuaylas shows Indian majority at all times.

Huánuco also presents this problem of an area that shows non-Indian majority only at the end of the Colonial era, and then reverts to Indian dominance. In the case of Huánuco Province, which straddles the main north highland entrances to the Peruvian montaña, the territory was opened to settlement only late in the eighteenth century by non-Indian enterprise. With advancing isolation, these original settlers reverted during the nineteenth century to Indian status as farmers and villagers cut off from the main centers of Republican life. Huánuco may offer an eighteenth-century parallel to the twentieth-century phenomenon of the thinly settled montaña provinces, of which the counted population is today predominantly non-Indian. If their development be retarded, as in the vicinity of Satipo, it is not unlikely that another generation will count them as predominantly Indian again.

The viceregal census of 1795 needs careful study. We here use its figures as they stand, for the reason that much Republican policy was based upon them. Since the figures were socially significant, their absolute objectivity may be disregarded. It seems clear that the late Colonial era manifested an attitude far more inclined to

⁴³ In 1876 their total came to 3.84 percent (103,776 in a total population of 2,699,106). The diminution in their percentage testifies to *mestizaje*.



MAP 2.—Areas with less than 50 percent Indian population in 1795.

favor the statistical definition of a large non-Indian population than was the case during most of the nineteenth century. In how far this permissive attitude toward population mixture was the result of the Indian rebellions of the 1780's, is a question needing study. Among the after-effects of the Rebellion of 1780 was an intensified campaign to obliterate the historical tradition of Indian cultural autonomy. The figures of the census of 1795 may reflect this campaign of the "de-Indianization" of Peru.⁴⁴

DISTRIBUTION IN 1826-54

The map for 1826-54 is incomplete (maps 3, 4). Figures for several provinces are altogether lacking in this period. Nevertheless the northern highland is completely documented. A striking reversion to Indian majority appears in Cajamarca Province, in Conchucos, and in Huaylas. These areas of renewed Indian majority tended to break the older mestizo block, as reported in 1795, into three fragments, centering in Jaén-Chota, Trujillo-Santa, and in Huamaliés. This last province was Indian in 1795, with almost 63 percent counted Indian inhabitants. In 1826-54 the Indian percentage dropped to 46.64 percent. The provincial tax collector in 1842 lamented the disintegration of the economic life of the province, the moral decay of the citizenry, and the alarming degeneration of the standard of living since 1800.⁴⁵ The tax collector was unable to raise tribute from all the Indians in his district, and so reported collections mainly from the mestizos. Hence the socially effective population was not Indian but mestizo. The case suggests that as isolation and economic decline overtook a province, the Indian caste was the first to disappear from the scene of social cooperation. As the Indians dispersed beyond control by the state, the residual non-Indians appeared to hold the majority, but ultimately, as in Huamaliés Province by 1940, reverted to minority when the dispersed Indian farming populations once again became socially available. By the same token of isolation and economic decline, the non-Indian settlers of one generation lost caste and reverted to Indian status in a later generation.

In Conchucos the collector lamented the devastation of the province by Republican troops, and the decay of domestic markets for provincial produce, owing to the flooding of the economy by foreign imports.⁴⁶ Here again, economic decay and progressive Indianization may be related, as in Huánuco and Huamaliés. In Huaylas, disease, war, and governmental exploitation were blamed by the collector for the decay of the province. Indianization here too during the period 1826-54 was notable, in contrast to the non-Indian majority that occupied the province at the end of the Colonial era.

For the south coast our figures from 1826 to 1854 are incomplete, especially in Camaná, Condesuyos, Arequipa, and Moquegua. In Parinacochas, however, the non-Indian majority of 47.07 percent in 1795 shifted to a majority approaching 65 percent by 1854. The tax collector observed in 1847 that heavy taxation and economic distress among the Indians had depleted the province through emigration to other areas.⁴⁷ The mestizos left behind were of course more numerous relative to the Indians than before. Parinacochas has never again shown mestizo majority. As in the north, economic decline stimulated Indian dispersal, mestizo impoverishment, and finally the reidentification of the population toward 1876 as a predominantly Indian population, probably by loss of caste among the remaining mestizo settlers.

In general, changes in caste majority between 1826 and 1854 appear to be related to the alarming economic decline of early Republican government. The Indians dispersed, and the mestizos gradually lost caste. But for a brief period, the non-Indian inhabitants held the majority, as in Huánuco, Huamaliés, and Parinacochas, where it fell to them by default.

DISTRIBUTION IN 1876

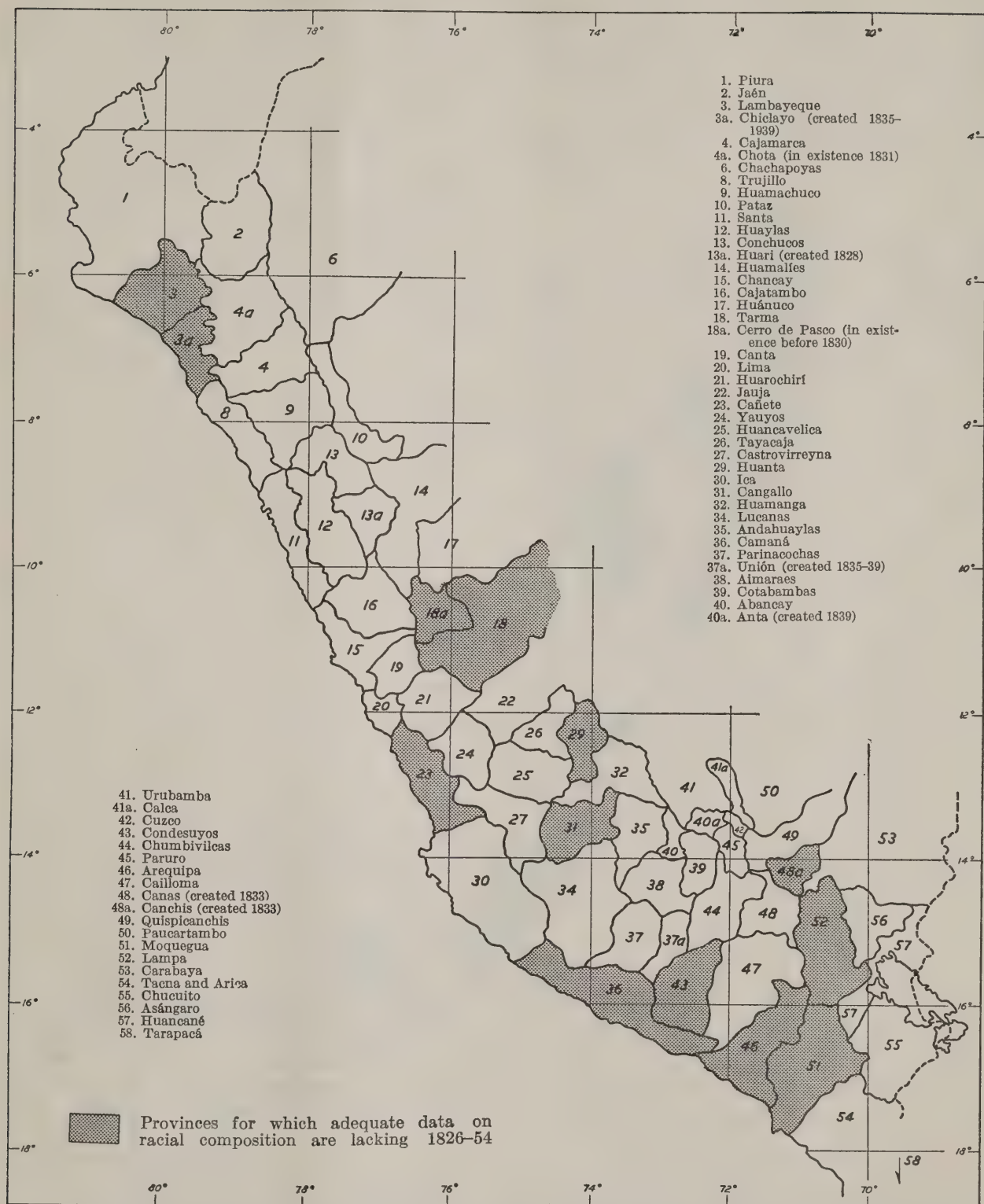
The economic disorders of Peru were arrested after 1850 by a variety of new situations, such as the guano export industry, the building of the railroads, and by unaccustomed political tranquillity, if only at intervals. The census of 1876,

⁴⁴ See *Memorias*, 1859, vol. 5, p. 172, on abolition of the traditional Indian ceremonial offices and duties under Viceroy Teodoro de Croix.

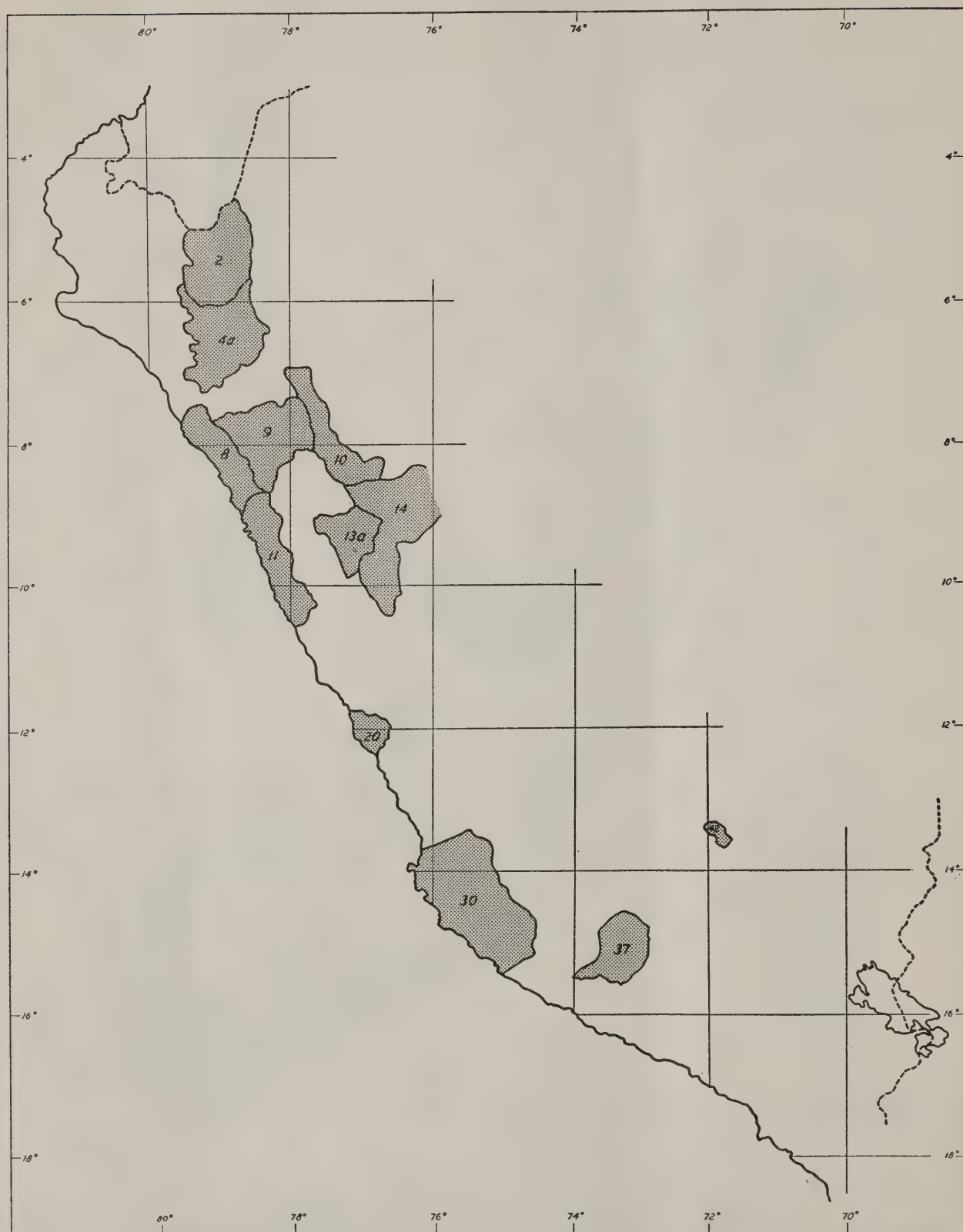
⁴⁵ MS. "Libro de Empadronamiento de Yndigenas de la Provincia de Huamaliés," AHMH, R. 0262, 407 pp. The *informe* appears upon pp. 51-57, signed by Joaquín de Cortavarría, and dated August 20, 1842, at Aguamiro.

⁴⁶ MS. "Padron de Contribuyentes de . . . la Provincia de Conchucos Bajo," AHMH, R. 0112, 356 fos. The *informe* appears on fos. 353-354, signed by Bernardo de Albarinos and dated 1830.

⁴⁷ MS. "Matricula de Indígenas de la Provincia de Parinacochas, Depto de Ayacucho," AHMH, R. 0341, 148 fos. The *informe* is signed by Manuel Cardenas and dated at Ayacucho, December 17, 1847.



MAP 3.—Provinces of Peru, 1826-54, based upon the geographical indications of the tax registers of the period.



MAP 4.—Provinces with less than 50 percent Indian population in the period 1826-54.

when its figures are mapped by provincial caste majorities (maps 5, 7), reveals many new stresses in the social composition of the country. Most evident is the eastward colonization in the northern provinces, with the appearance of mestizo majorities in the Provinces of Huallaga and San Martín. Since 1876, the process of internal colonization has spread to the easternmost limits of the Republic. In 1876, however, the Marañón River Basin, in Pataz and Luya Provinces, was occupied by Indian provincial majorities, in such fashion as to split the new eastern colonization of mestizo character from the older enclave of non-Indian majorities in the Departments of Cajamarca and La Libertad.

Another area in which mestizo or non-Indian majorities appeared in 1876 for the first time in recorded detail, was in the northernmost coastal provinces. Tumbes, Paita, and Ayabaca appeared with substantially smaller Indian percentages than in previous generations. Farther south, Chancay Province also attained a majority in the mestizo population, in a gradual process whereby the entire Peruvian coast, with rare exceptions, came ultimately to be occupied by non-Indian groups. The Province of Castilla briefly appeared with a non-Indian majority, which it lost again by 1940. As this province was created in 1854, its "racial" composition had never before been recorded separately from the larger territorial unit of Condesuyos, from which it was carved, and for which demographic data are still lacking in the period 1826-54 (map 3).

In the central and southern highlands, two new enclaves of mestizo majority appeared in 1876. One is the Province of Huanta, concerning which we have nothing after the census of 1795 until 1876. In 1876 the census takers variously reported the total population as 15,322 and as 30,479 inhabitants. Geographically the province was a frontier upon the undeveloped montaña between the Apurimac and Urubamba Rivers. The uncertainty about its population may arise from the uncounted selvatic peoples in this region: if so, its mestizo majority may offer a southern parallel to the northern internal colonizations of Huallaga and San Martín Provinces.

The block of territory covered by Abancay, Aimaraes, and Antabamba Provinces likewise appeared briefly in 1876 with non-Indian majorities. Both before and since 1876, these provinces have

been heavily Indian. Their brief respite from Indian dominance may be compared to that of Andahuaylas at the end of the eighteenth century. The provinces lie immediately east of Andahuaylas, and, with Andahuaylas, compose the Department of Apurimac as created in 1873 (Tarazona, 1946, p. 471).

DISTRIBUTION IN 1940

John Rowe has refined the concept of the "Indian" as it was used by the census takers of 1940. He distinguishes "Indian" as defined by language from "Indian" as defined by subjective impression (Rowe, 1947, p. 214). Here, and to conform with the data for earlier periods, we shall use only the undifferentiated concept of the Indian. The map showing caste majorities by provinces in 1940 reveals three areas of Indian dominance: the central and southern highlands, from northern Ancash to the Bolivian border; the Province of Alto Amazonas; and the Province of Piura (maps 7, 8). Only Piura and Pisco, on the south coast, had Indian majorities among coastal areas in 1940. Alto Amazonas is a thinly populated region of selvatic tribes. The real geographical center of the Indian world of Peru is clearly and sharply defined in the great highland block. The unity of this block is all the more noteworthy when it is considered that the processes of provincial subdivision, attendant upon population increase, yield far more provinces, with smaller and smaller areas for statistical consideration.

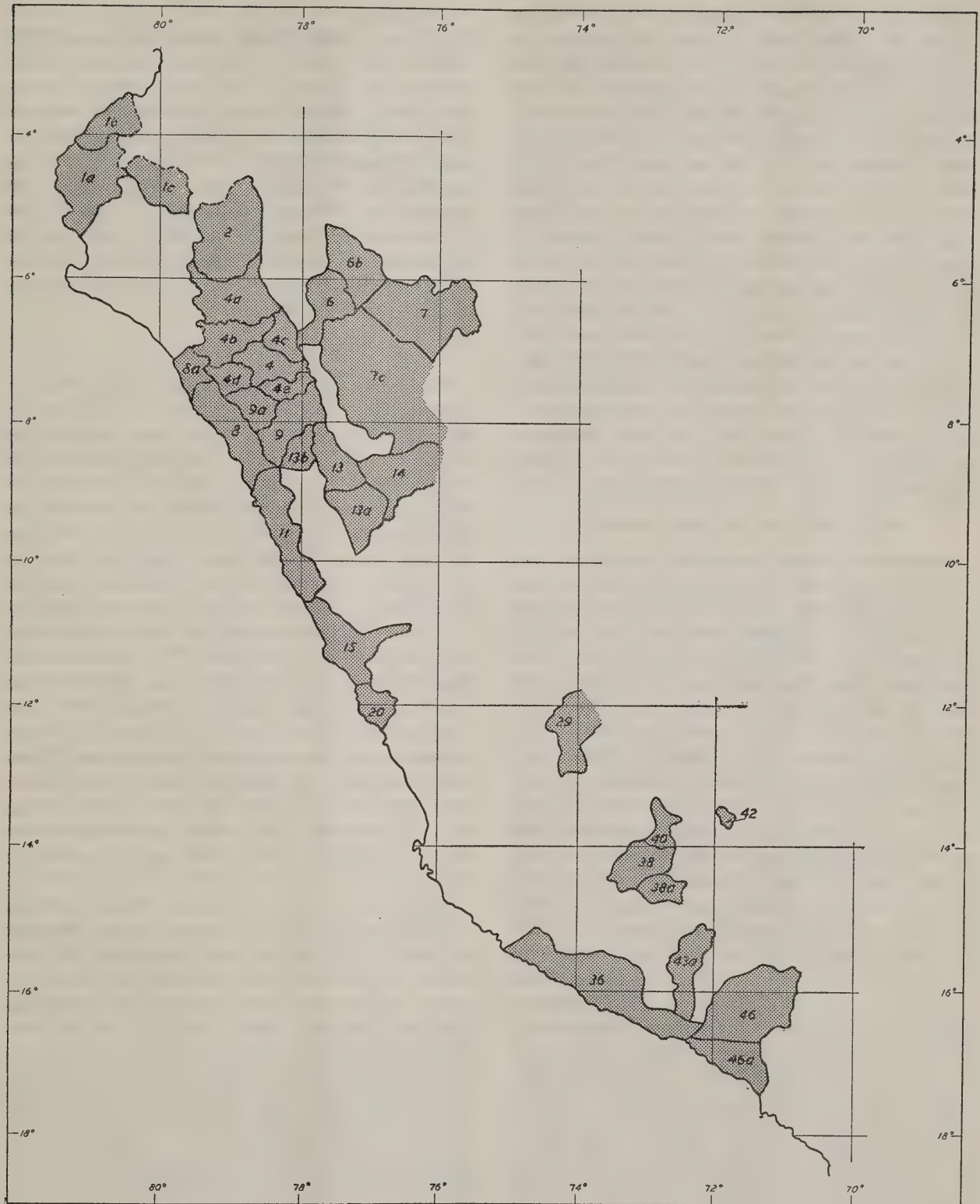
The mestizo territories are predominantly on the coast and in the northern highlands. On the coast the incursion of the non-Indian majorities into highland areas is noticeable, especially in the Provinces of Aija, Bolognesi, Cajatambo, and Yauli; in Moquegua and in Condesuyos. The tendency is for the mestizo majority to move steadily into the mountains from coastal or montaña bases. In the perspective of a century and a half, the sharp definition and geographical segregation of caste-identified territories (mestizo coast and montaña: Indian highland) has become a political reality only in the years before 1940.

CASTE PERCENTAGES

The foregoing discussion shows only schematic relations of majority dominance at several moments during the past century and a half. Taken together the majorities at various moments reveal



MAP 5.—Provinces of Peru in 1876, according to the data given in the general census of 1876.



MAP 6.—Provinces with less than 50 percent Indian population in 1876.

changes in the social composition of the Peruvian population. But these changes can perhaps be apprehended more clearly if we examine the provincial rates of change between successive moments. This can be done by disregarding majority and minority groups, in favor of tabulation by caste percentages. In the accompanying maps (maps 9-16), Indian groups are recorded by the percentage of increase or decrease of the group since the head count immediately preceding. Thus we chart the growth or decline of the Indian group, relative to the total population of the respective province, by changes in the percentage of the group between 1796, 1826-54, 1876, and 1940. In the first two tabulations, for 1795-1826/54, and 1826/54-1876, the information is incomplete because we lack the tax registers for several provinces during 1826-54. Such undocumented provinces are cross-hatched in the map showing the political divisions of the early Republic (map 3).

PERCENTAGES IN 1795, 1826-54

Maps 9 and 10 show percentage changes as they would have appeared to a student of the question in 1854, based upon the viceregal census of 1795 and upon the tax registers from 1826 to 1854. It is immediately evident that the Indian caste throughout Peru had increased in numbers, and that this increase had occurred throughout the Republic (map 9). The extreme north shows relative Indian increase as a whole, in Piura and Chachapoyas. On the coast as a whole, the Indian group was increasing relative to the non-Indian group, especially in Trujillo, Chancay, and Ica, where strong rising percentages were recorded. On the coast the Indian groups lost ground relative to others only in Santa and Lima (map 10), where the shifts of strength were small. In the highlands generally, the strongest relative gains of the Indian caste were registered for the easternmost provinces: Pataz, Huánuco, and Urubamba (map 9). Elsewhere strong Indian gains appeared in areas that today are more densely Indian than they were at the end of the Colonial era: Conchucos, Andahuaylas, Chumbivilcas, and Canas (map 9).

Map 10, which records relative Indian losses, shows far weaker percentage changes. The greatest loss recorded is for Cotabambas (now Grau) Province, in the south highlands, and Jaén in the north. Comparison of maps 9 and 11 shows that increasing Indian percentages are linked together

in continuing blocks, as from Luya to Chancay Provinces. These blocks enclose or surround far smaller areal units in which the mestizo groups were gaining ground. The maps clearly indicate the extent to which Colonial population trends of the late eighteenth century had been arrested and even reversed by 1854. This appears also in the total figures for the Republic. After we exclude the provinces not reported either in 1795 (all the Department of Puno), or in 1826-54 (as marked on map 3), the Indian percentage relative to total population was 57.96 percent in 1795; by 1854 this had risen to 59.35 percent.

PERCENTAGES IN 1826-54

The preceding discussion has the defect of treating the period 1826-54 as a unit. Actually the tax registers of this period were prepared at 5-year intervals. Hence if all tax registers had been prepared, and if they had all survived, we would have six different census reports for the Republic, spaced 5 years apart. As it is, numbers of these reports either were never prepared, or if prepared, they were lost or destroyed. Instead of six census reports, we have large fragments of each that can be assembled to produce the rough record of two census reports. The earlier is based upon the registers before 1840, and the later upon registers after that date to 1854. For many provinces a report upon both Indian and non-Indian groups is available in both periods, before and after 1840. It therefore seemed desirable to plot relative changes of the two groups during the time 1826-54. The effort reveals tendencies of the population that could not otherwise be known.

Indian percentages decreased relative to total populations only in the central coastal Province of Santa, and in the southern provinces. In other words, the mestizo gains by percentage were registered mainly in southern Peru, in the traditional stronghold of the Indian world. Ica, Castrovirreyna, and the newly created Province of La Unión, registered the strongest mestizo advances. The block from Ica, through Castrovirreyna, Yauyos, and Jauja Provinces, extends from the Pacific to the Apurimac Basin. These mestizo advances are particularly significant in view of the fact that after 1840, the tax collectors were increasingly unable to register the mestizo or *casta* inhabitants in each province. These citizens

evaded the tax with every means of ingenuity. Hence any tax register that shows an increase in mestizo percentages after 1840 probably reports the fact only in partial detail.

Indian gains (map 11) were registered during the same period in far fewer southern provinces, and notably in certain central and northern provinces. In the south, Indian percentage gains were remarkable only in Urubamba, Abancay, and Parinacochas Provinces. Taken together with other south highland provinces, these territories of Indian increase, relative to the total population in each province, may be regarded as an Indian bastion, centrally situated in the Department of Cuzco, at the edges of which the mestizo wave was encroaching after 1840.

On the central coast Chancay Province continued after 1840 the sharp Indian increase, already noted between 1795 and about 1840. In the northern highlands, only Pataz Province registered a decisive Indian increase, which was to continue with equal vigor until after 1876. Cajamarca showed appreciable Indian gains, although in all these instances, the reluctance of the mestizos to appear in the tax registers may be taken to invalidate, in part at least, these Indian gains. Surely the remarkable modern Indianization of the Callejón de Huaylas has antecedents in the steady if small Indian gains in Huaylas, continuous there from 1795 to the present.

PERCENTAGES IN 1826/54-1876

Indian gains by percentage (map 13) show a grouping that prefigures the present state of affairs. In the extreme north, Piura and Jaén became appreciably more Indian. On the other hand the block of northern provinces, composed of Conchucos, Trujillo, Cajamarca, Chota, and Chachapoyas, became more markedly mestizo (map 14).

In central and southern Peru, mestizo gains continued in massive progress (map 14), through a solid block extending southeastward from Chancay to Huancané Province on Lake Titicaca at the Bolivian frontier. The conversion to non-Indian majorities was especially rapid in Chancay and Ica Provinces on the coast, and in the southern provinces of the Departments of Apurímac and Cuzco.

Indian gains (map 13) in central and southern Peru were fewer than at any previous time within our knowledge. In Yauyos and Castrovirreyna, earlier mestizo gains were checked by a momentary increase in Indian percentages. Parinacochas and Canas alone in the Department of Cuzco showed Indian gains. In Puno, only the Province of Chucuito gained Indians more rapidly than mestizos.

In general, the period is marked by overwhelming mestizo gains in the south (map 14), and by extremely rapid Indian gains in Libertad and in the provinces centering upon the Callejón de Huaylas (map 13). As the south became more mestizo, the extreme north and the Departments of Ancash and Huánuco became more Indian. The process has nothing to do with biological increases. It is entirely and purely a social process, with caste demarcations undulating variably in time and space, in response to local and governmental attitudes of which the detailed analysis is still not possible.

PERCENTAGES IN 1876-1940

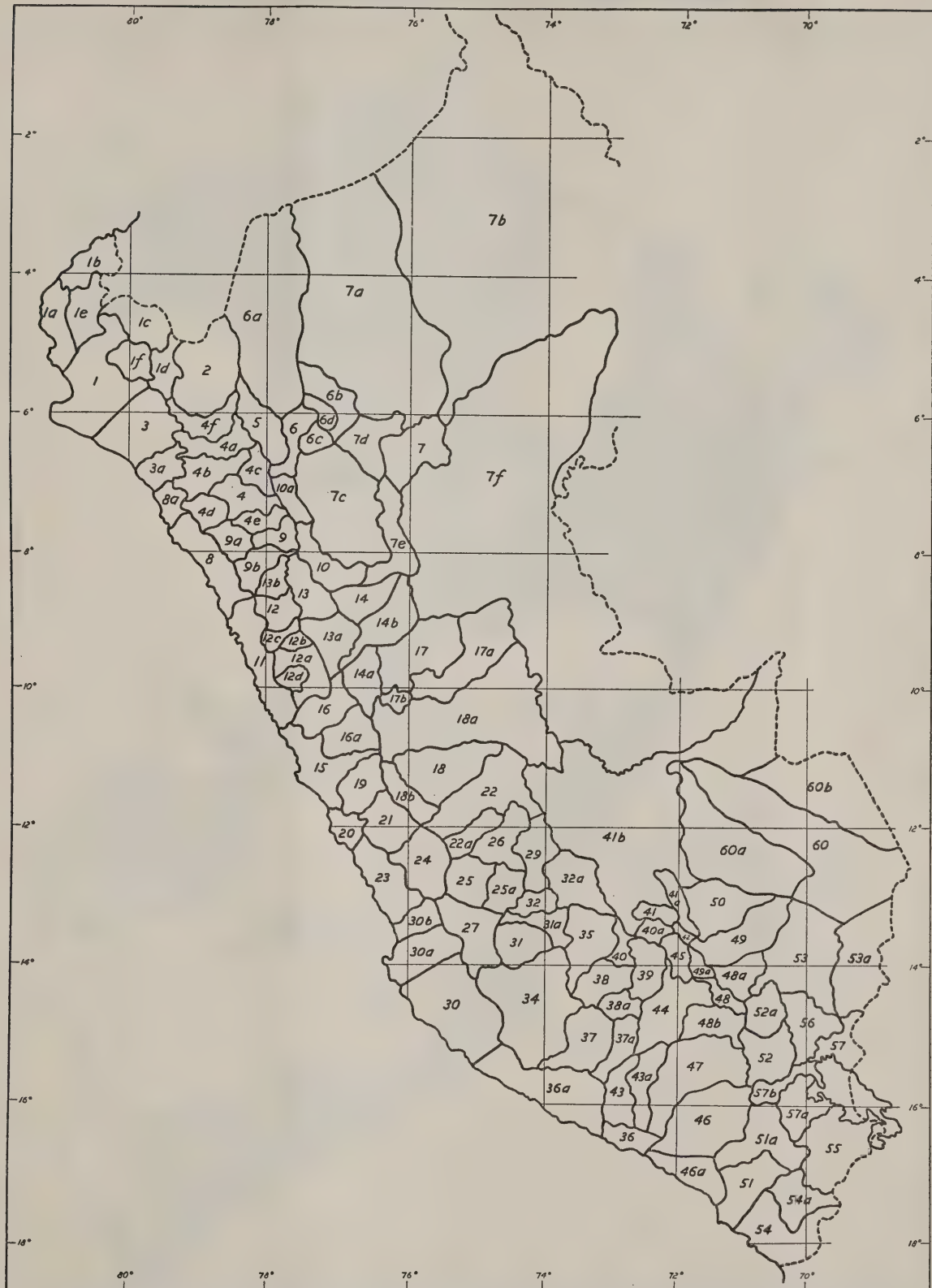
In the extreme north, in the Department of Piura, the great Indian increases during the preceding period, rapidly abated in all provinces excepting Ayabaca (map 15). It will be recalled that Ayabaca, Piura, and Huancabamba Provinces still showed Indian majorities in 1940 (map 8). But between 1876 and 1940, Piura and Huancabamba both gained mestizo or non-Indian population (map 16). Piura in fact gained it at the rate of more than 31 percent in 64 years.

From the Callejón de Huaylas eastward to Huamalíes, extremely sharp Indian increases in well-defined territory appear (map 15). Even Pallasca and Pomabamba Provinces, where the mestizo percentages had been gaining very rapidly before 1876, reversed their tendency with Indian increases of great magnitude.

Farther south, Indian increases on a large scale are evident from Jauja to Abancay, and due south from Abancay to Camaná and Caravelí (map 15). In this block only the urban Province of Huamanga, with the departmental capital of Ayacucho, was exempted from the general increase of Indian percentages. The phenomenon reverses all trends for the same area during the preceding period. The abrupt reversal of trend also charac-

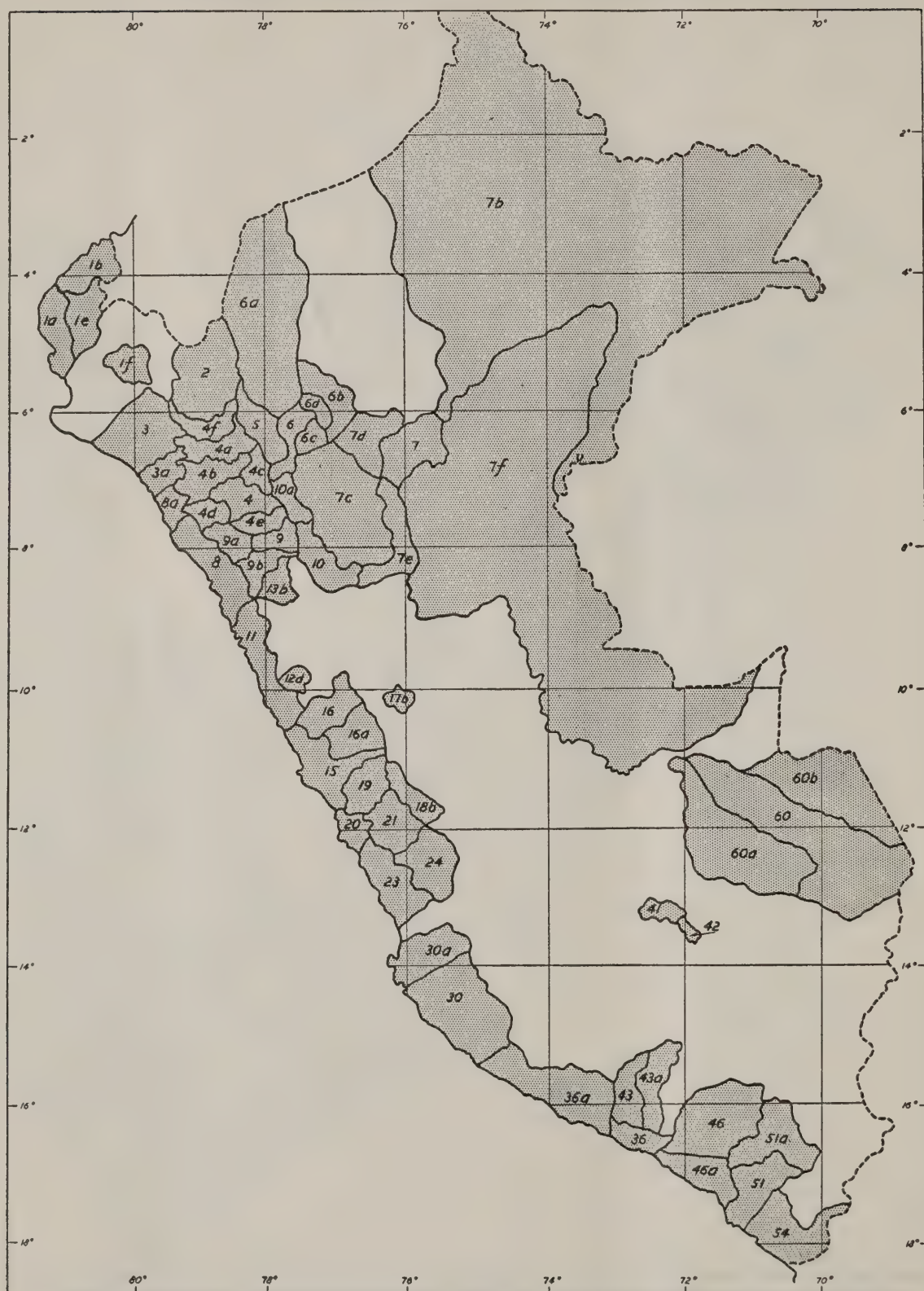
Names of provinces outlined in map 7

- | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Piura | 12c. Yungay | 37. Parinacochas |
| 1a. Paita | 12d. Aija | 37a. Unión |
| 1b. Tumbes | 13. Pomabamba | 38. Aimaraes |
| 1c. Ayabaca | 13a. Huari | 38a. Antabamba |
| 1d. Huancabamba | 13b. Pallasca | 39. Grau |
| 1e. Sullana | 14. Marañón | 40. Abancay |
| 1f. Morropón | 14a. Dos de Mayo | 40a. Anta |
| 2. Jaén | 14b. Huamalíes | 41. Urubamba |
| 3. Lambayeque | 15. Chancay | 41a. Calca |
| 3a. Chiclayo | 16. Bolognesi | 41b. La Convención |
| 4. Cajamarca | 16a. Cajatambo | 42. Cuzco |
| 4a. Chota | 17. Huánuco | 43. Condesuyos |
| 4b. Hualgayoc | 17a. Pachitea | 43a. Castilla |
| 4c. Celendín | 17b. Ambo | 44. Chumbivilcas |
| 4d. Contumazá | 18. Tarma | 45. Paruro |
| 4e. Cajabamba | 18a. Pasco | 46. Arequipa |
| 4f. Cutervo | 18b. Yauli | 46a. Islay |
| 5. Luya | 19. Canta | 47. Cailloma |
| 6. Chachapoyas | 20. Lima | 48. Canas |
| 6a. Bongará | 21. Huarochirí | 48a. Canchis |
| 6b. Moyobamba | 22. Jauja | 48b. Espinar |
| 6c. Rodríguez de Mendoza | 22a. Huancayo | 49. Quispicanchis |
| 6d. Rioja | 23. Cañete | 49a. Acomayo |
| 7. San Martín | 24. Yauyos | 50. Paucartambo |
| 7a. Alto Amazonas | 25. Huancavelica | 51. Mariscal Nieto |
| 7b. Bajo Amazonas | 25a. Angaraes | 51a. General Sánchez Cerro |
| 7c. Huallaga | 26. Tayacaja | 52. Lampa |
| 7d. Lamas | 27. Castrovirreyna | 52a. Melgar |
| 7e. Mariscal Cáceres | 29. Huanta | 53. Carabaya |
| 8. Trujillo | 30. Ica | 53a. Sandia |
| 8a. Pacasmayo | 30a. Pisco | 54. Tacna |
| 9. Huamachuco | 30b. Chincha | 54a. Tarata |
| 9a. Otusco | 31. Victor Fajardo | 55. Chucuito |
| 9b. Santiago de Chuco | 31a. Cangallo | 56. Asángaro |
| 10. Pataz | 32. Huamanga | 57. Huancané |
| 10a. Bolívar | 32a. La Mar | 57a. Puno |
| 11. Santa | 34. Lucanas | 57b. San Román |
| 12. Huaylas | 35. Andahuaylas | 60. Tambopata |
| 12a. Huarás | 36. Camaná | 60a. Manu |
| 12b. Carhuas | 36a. Caravelí | 60b. Tahuamanu |

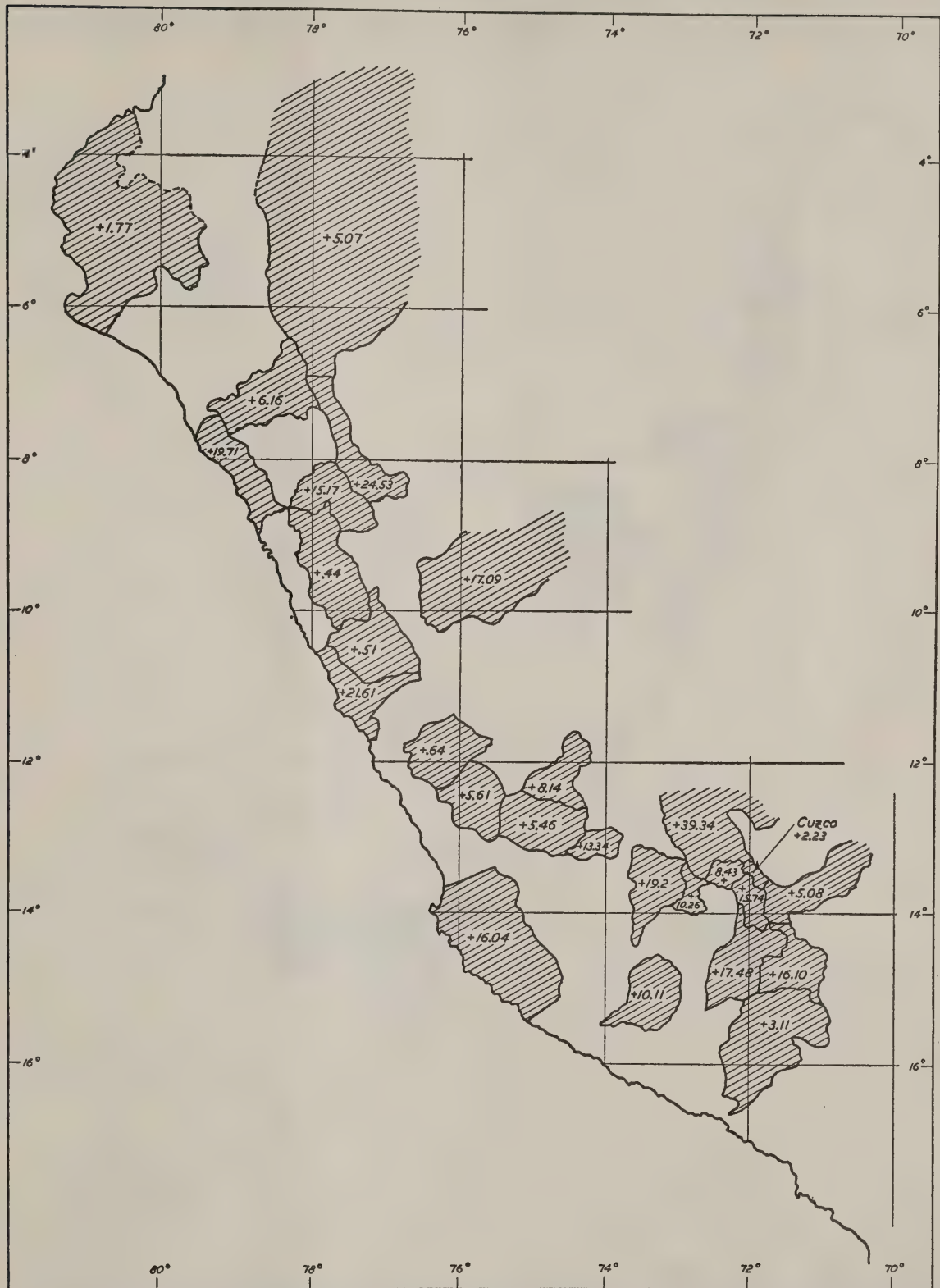


MAP 7.—Provinces of Peru, according to the divisions observed at the time of the census of 1940.

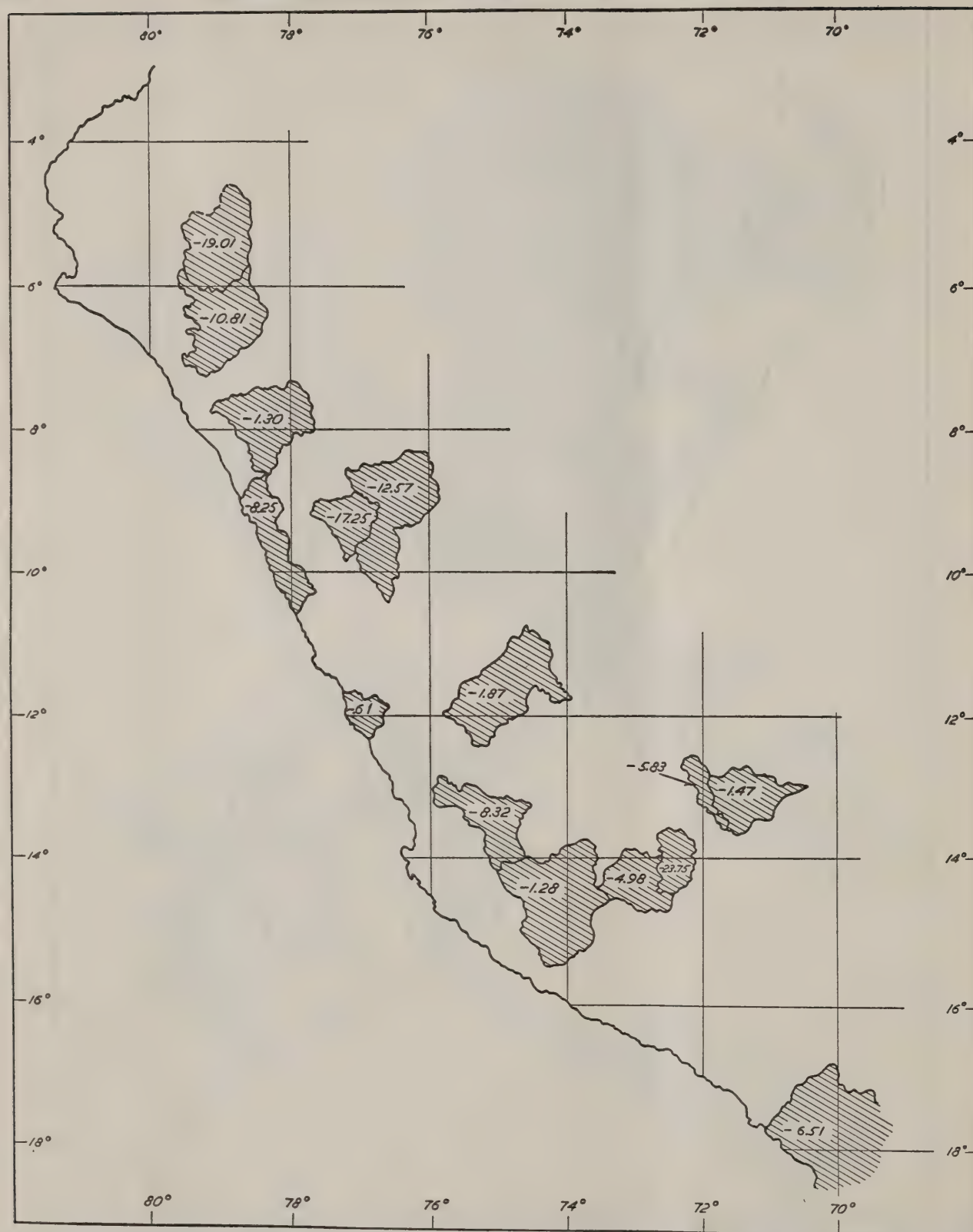
(For names of provinces, see opposite page.)



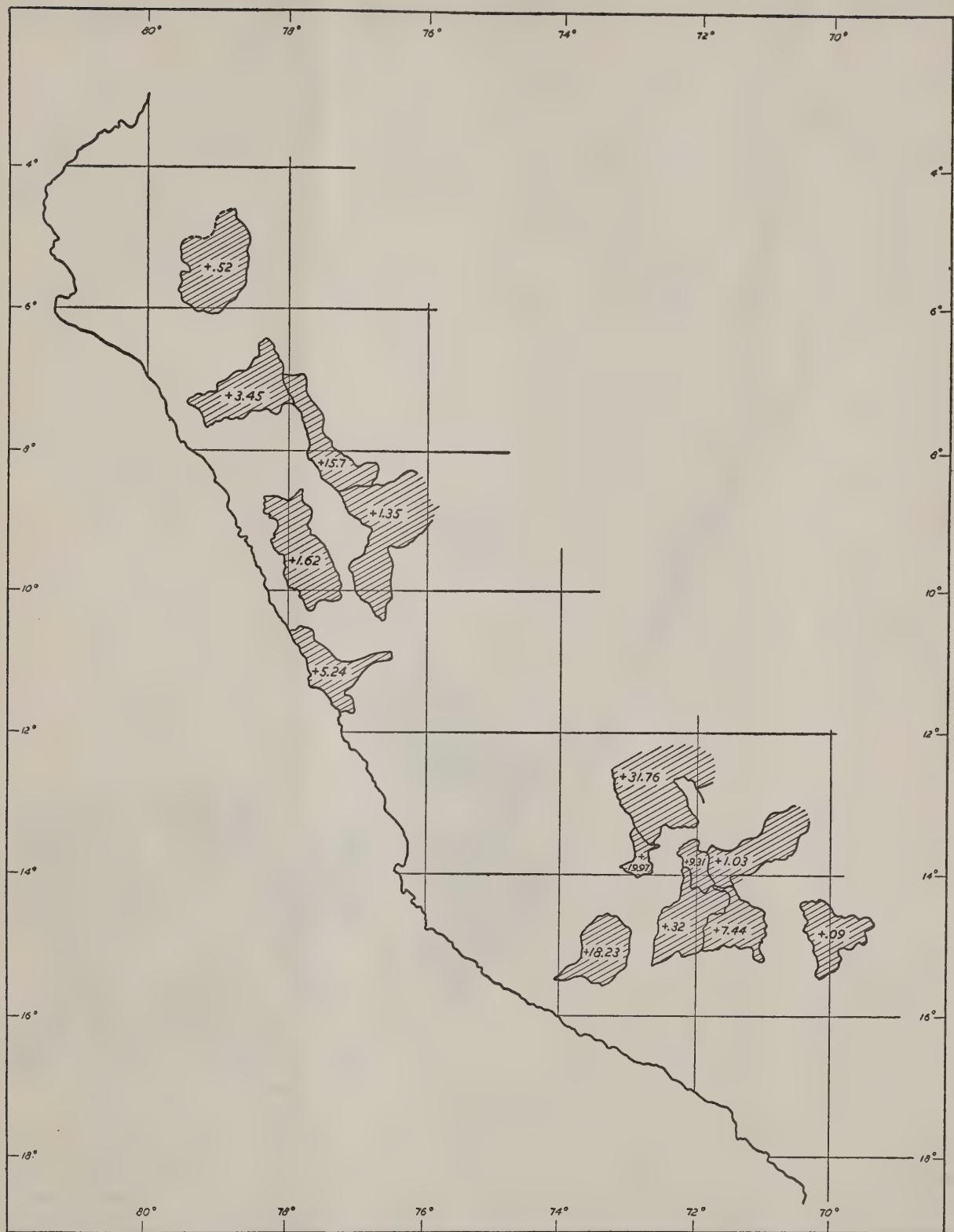
MAP 8.—Provinces with less than 50 percent Indian population according to the census of 1940.



MAP 9.—Provinces in which Indian percentages increased during the period 1795-1826/54. The increase per hundred population is noted in each province. The provinces may be identified by the key to map 1, showing the boundaries of 1795.



MAP 10.—Provinces in which Indian percentages decreased during the period 1796–1826/54. The decrease per hundred population is noted in each province. See key to provinces in map 1.



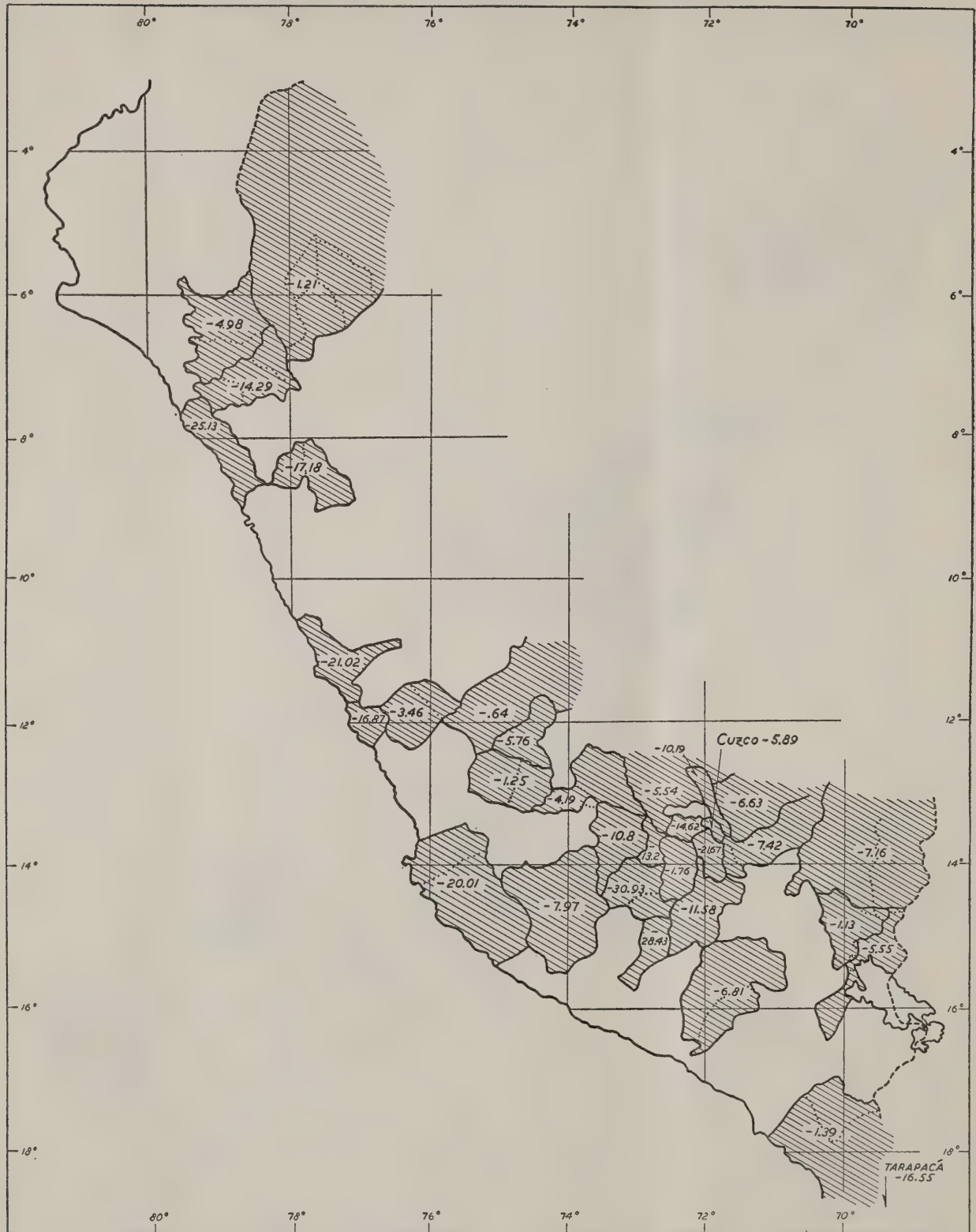
MAP 11.—Provinces in which Indian percentages increased during the period 1826-54. The increase per hundred population is noted in each province. See key to provinces in map 3.



MAP 12.—Provinces in which the Indian percentages decreased during the period 1826-54. The decrease per hundred population is noted in each province. See key to provinces in map 3.



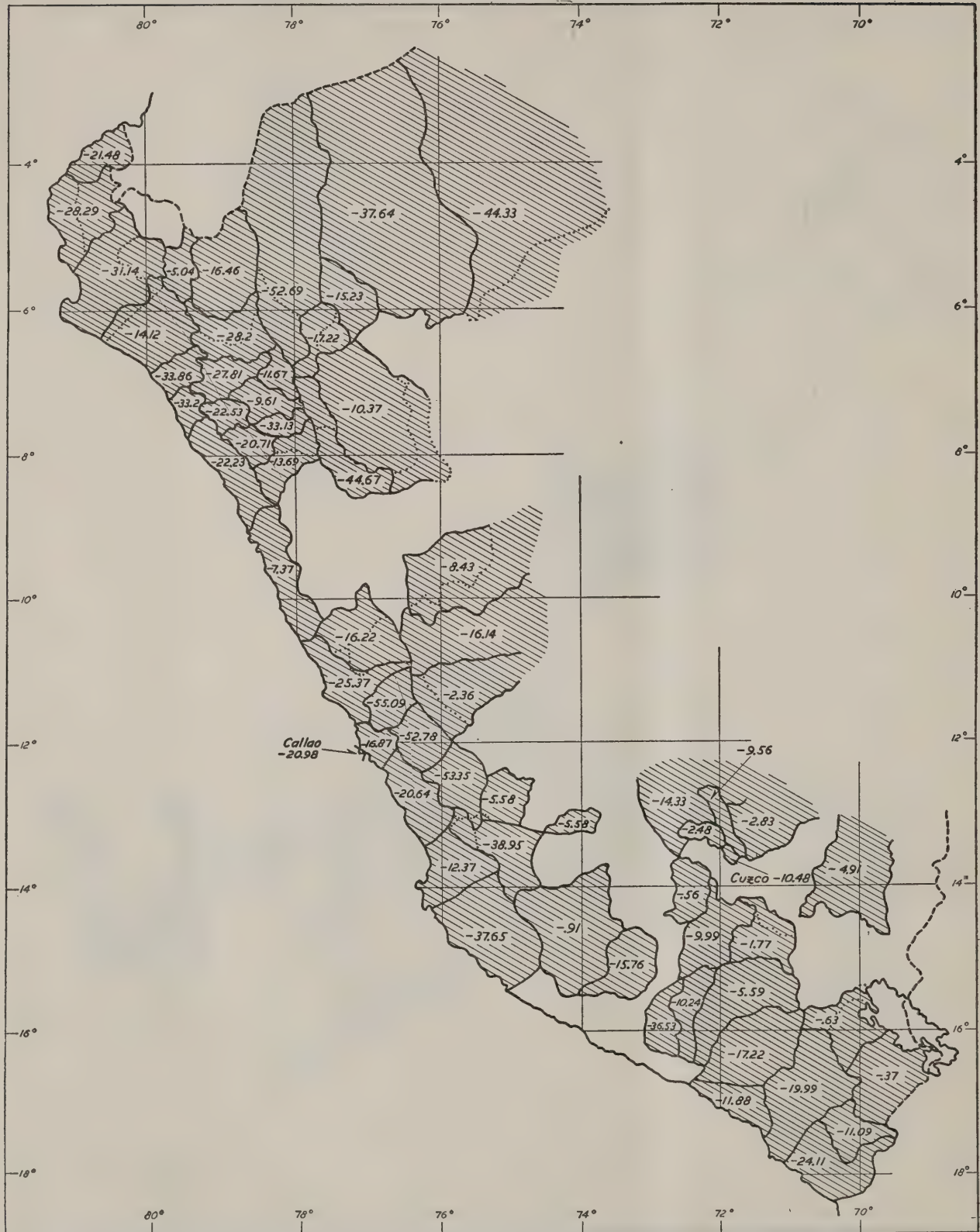
MAP 13.—Provinces in which the Indian percentages increased during the period 1826/54-1876. The increase per hundred population is noted in each province. Dotted lines show territorial changes during the period. See key to provinces in map 3.



MAP 14.—Provinces in which the Indian percentages decreased during the period 1826/54-1876. The decrease per hundred population is noted in each province. Dotted lines show territorial changes during the period. See key to provinces in map 3.



MAP 15.—Provinces in which Indian percentages increased during the period 1876-1940. The increase per hundred population is noted in each province. Dotted lines show new territorial divisions during the period. See key to provinces in map 5.



MAP 16.—Provinces in which Indian percentages decreased during the period 1876-1940. The decrease per hundred population is noted in each province. Dotted lines show territorial changes during the period. See key to provinces in map 5.

terizes the provinces southeastward from Anta to the Bolivian frontier. In contrast to the preceding period, the southern provinces gained Indian percentages more rapidly than the northern districts, and throughout Peru, the areas of Indian gain by percentage are more numerous by 1940 than in 1876, although their grouping is more definitely clustered or "islanded" than in the earlier period. It is as if the Indian groups in 1876-1940 could register gains only in isolated highland areas, and in the most thinly settled part of the coast. This "islanded" growth pattern for the Indian caste is of importance when compared with the map displaying majority distributions in 1940 (map 8). The map by percentages of Indian increase shows that the Indian majority was not holding the advantage during the decades prior to 1940 in many parts of highland Peru. The area of Indian majority looks monolithic, but when its growth is analyzed as above, only five islands of continuing Indian growth emerge. These are in Ayabaca, in the Departments of Ancash and Huánuco; in parts of the Departments of Junín, Huancavelica, Apurímac, and Arequipa; and finally, two "islands" in the Departments of Cuzco and Puno. Whether the shores of these "islands" (map 15) will be even further reduced by mestizo expansion and growth, cannot be predicted.

Turning to the map of non-Indian gains (map 16), we note that these are the rule nearly everywhere in Peru. Except for Camaná and Caravelí, the entire Peruvian coast now shows mestizo increases. As the census of 1876 gives no figures for the easternmost provinces of Peru, there the obvious mestizo gains cannot be given by percentages. Otherwise, non-Indian gains are continuous from north to south, excepting for the Indian "corridor" from eastern Jauja and Huanta Provinces to the Pacific in Camaná and Caravelí (map 15). The only other such "corridor" is in the Departments of Ancash and Huánuco, but it is blocked from the coast by the non-Indian increases in Santa Province.

PERCENTAGES IN 1795-1876

The preceding sections yield some idea of the rate of demographic change in respect to caste at intervals of one or two generations. They reveal that caste trends were accelerated or reversed here and there at various times without evident pattern or uniformity. By isolating the data over longer

intervals, we can hope to chart the gross patterns of change. From 1795 to 1876 the gains and losses by caste, relative to total provincial populations, show an interesting distribution. By area (map 17), the territory in which the Indian caste was gaining ground more rapidly than the non-Indian, is a territory greater than that in which the mestizos were gaining. In other words, in most of Peru, the Indian caste gained members more rapidly than the mestizo caste. In the north and south, however, Indian growth was spotty. Piura and Chachapoyas were separated by a great mestizo block. In the southern highland areas, several distinct islands of Indian growth appear in the Departments of Cuzco, Apurímac, and Arequipa. Unfortunately we cannot view the distribution in the Department of Puno, because the census of 1795 does not include these provinces that were transferred to the Audiencia of Charcas. But in central Peru accelerated Indian growth was the rule, even in the coastal provinces of the Department of Lima, from Santa to Ica. Hence the geographical center of Indian increase, 1795-1876, may be defined as the central highlands, from Huaylas to Huancavelica and extending to the coastal provinces in that zone.

Mestizo increases (in terms of Indian decreases by percentage) are seen in map 18. The situation of 1795 still held good: the mestizo world consisted of enclaves thrusting into a highland world predominantly Indian by rate of growth. These enclaves in the north, on the central coast, and in the southern highlands, reflect growth rates that deserve comment. In Aimaraes, about one-quarter of the population had shifted from Indian to mestizo status between 1795 and 1876. No other area shows such a high rate of transfer to mestizo status. But the areas of Indian growth (map 17) are not only more extensive and more numerous: their rate of growth is also higher, as in Pataz Province, where the Indian percentage rose 33 percent higher than in 1795. In brief, Indian Peru was more extensive in 1876 than in 1795, and it was growing faster than mestizo Peru in 1876.

PERCENTAGES IN 1795-1940

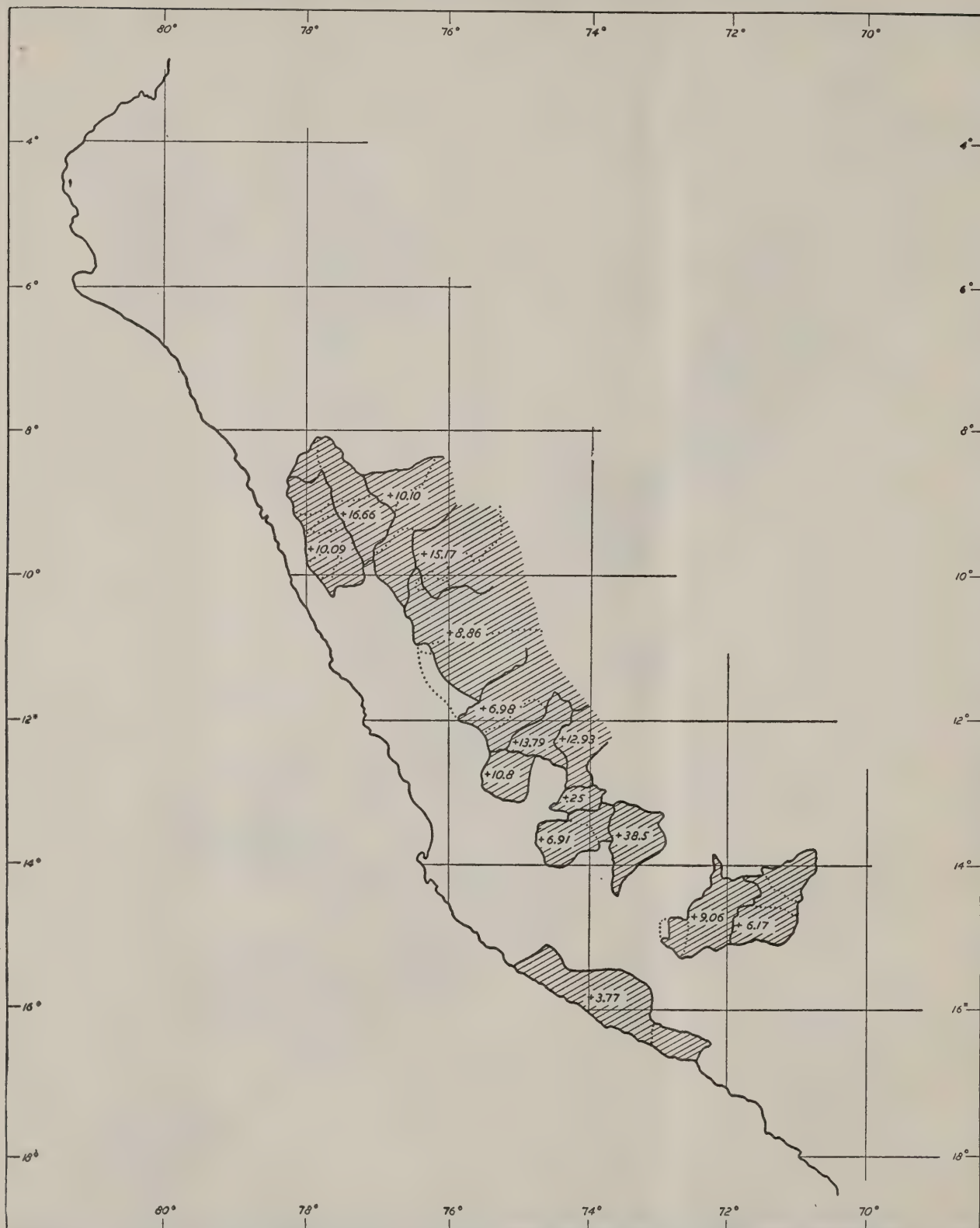
These changes in the growth pattern of the two castes, plotted over nearly a century and a half, display and reinforce earlier conclusions. By rate of increase (map 20), the mestizo population



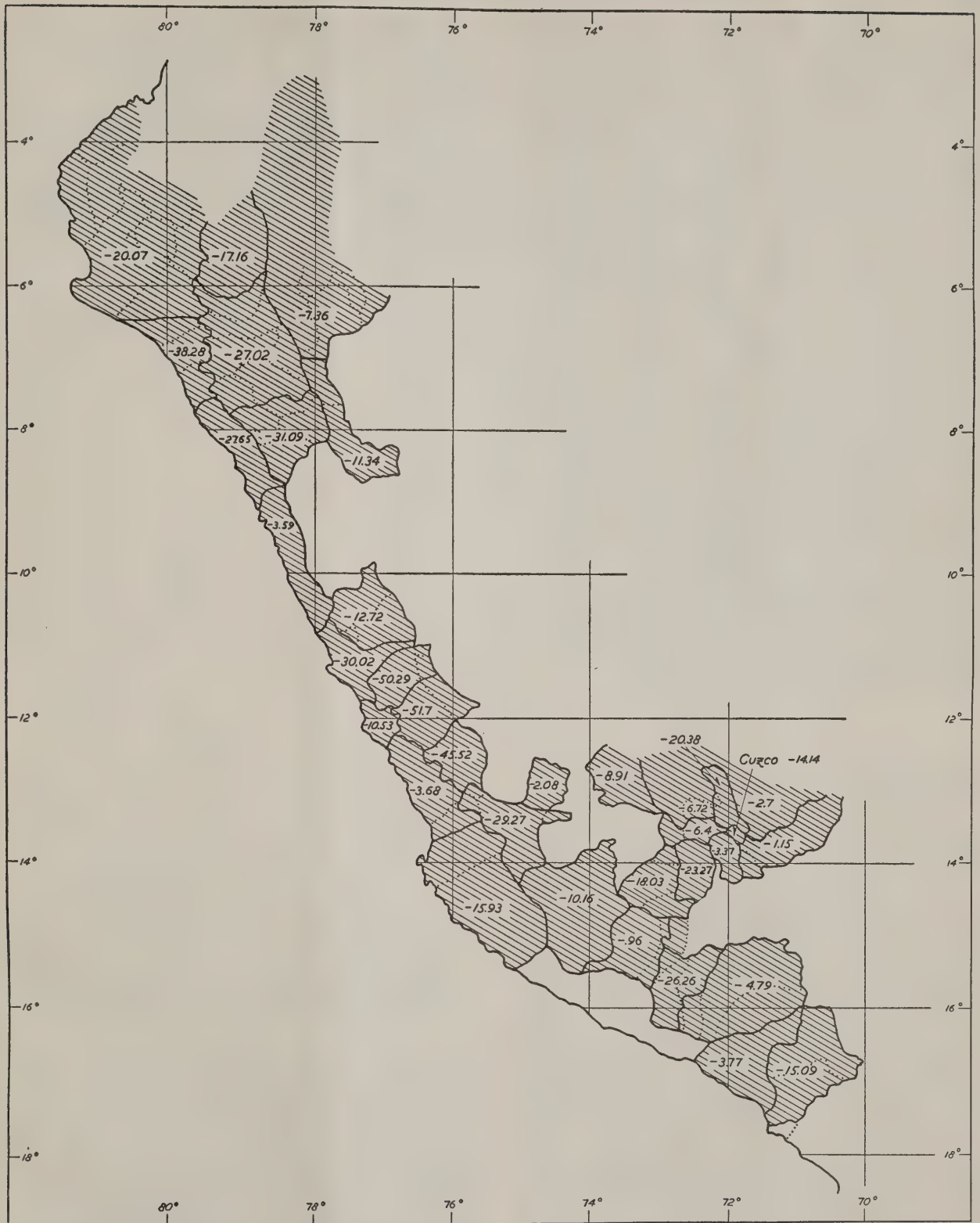
MAP 17.—Provinces in which Indian percentages increased during the period 1795–1876. The increase per hundred population is noted in each area. Dotted lines show new provincial divisions during the period. See key to provinces in map 1.



MAP 18.—Provinces in which Indian percentages decreased during the period 1795-1876. The decrease per hundred population is noted in each area. Dotted lines show new provincial divisions during the period. See key to provinces in map 3.



MAP 19.—Provinces in which Indian percentages increased during the period 1795–1940. The increase per hundred population is noted in each area. Dotted lines show new provincial divisions during the period. See key to provinces in map 1.



MAP 20.—Provinces in which Indian percentages decreased during the period 1795-1940. The decrease per hundred population is noted in each area. Dotted lines show new provincial divisions created during the period. See key to provinces in map 1.

came to occupy nearly the entire coast. The north also became dominantly mestizo. The southern highlands are interlaced by broad bands and zones of mestizo increase. The Indian world (map 20) is clearly defined by the central highlands, and by substantial portions of the south highlands. Most striking is the mestizo gain in the central highland provinces of the Pacific watershed: Cajatambo, Canta, Huarochiri, and Yauyos (map 20). The Indian highland block shows its most integral aspect from Conchucos to Huanta (map 19). Farther south and east this Indian block is fragmented. In the south only Andahuaylas has notable increase by Indian percentage. Chumbivilcas and Tinta are separated from the remainder of the Indian block by a broad belt of mestizo increases. On the whole, the Indian world shows its center of gravity in the central and eastern highlands. It is regrettable that the eighteenth-century figures for the Department of Puno are lacking. Were the rates of change available for these provinces from 1795 to 1940, we should behold another evidence of the way in which, without measurable biological changes, the caste proportions favor Indian survival only in the less densely populated sections of the altiplano of Puno (see map 15).

CONCLUSION

In general, the trend of Indian increase that held until 1876, was reversed between 1876 and 1940, when mestizo populations became more numerous and more extensive, and more rapid in growth than the Indian component. The process can be continuously documented with reasonable accuracy in the provinces listed in table 9. Undocumented are the provinces of the Department of Puno, lacking in the census of 1795, and certain other provinces, for which the tax registers of 1826-54 are still unlocated (map 3). Also without continuous documented history are the montaña provinces where no head count was seriously attempted until 1940. It will be seen from maps 19 and 20 that the area for which continuous documentation is available, includes about two-thirds of the entire country. The totals by period are therefore not absolute, and they are not accurately representative of the total trend. This total trend, however, cannot now be known. Our figures give its general direction.

In essence the Indian component of Peruvian population gained in strength throughout the country from the end of the eighteenth century until the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Since 1876 the Indian component has lost numbers, relative to the total population, until in 1940, the Indian population had become a minority approaching but 40 percent of total, in the documented areas (fig. 1).

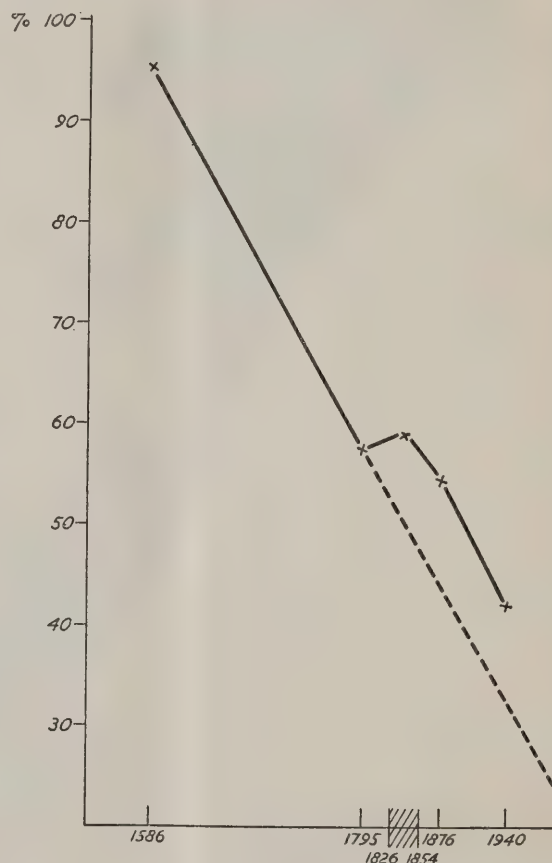


FIGURE 1.—The Indian caste, 1795-1940, by absolute numbers for the territory as of table 9. Dotted line continues Colonial rate of decrease after 1795, for comparison with actual rate of percentage decrease shown by solid line.

An estimate of 1586, published in 1648, states that the non-Indians of the Viceroyalty of Peru numbered 53,000 among 1,049,766 Indians (Diez de la Calle, 1648, f. 18a). Assuming that the area covered by this count of 1586 was roughly equal to the area covered by our limited counts from 1795-1940, the percentage of Indians may be taken in 1586 as about 95.2 percent. Between 1586 and 1795, no other counts classified

TABLE 9.—Indian counts compared, 1795-1940, by provincial units as of 1795 (*cf. maps 19, 20*)

Province	1795		1826-54		1876		1940	
	Total	Indians	Total	Indians	Total	Indians	Total	Indians
Abancay.....	1 25,259	1 18,419	8,276	6,570	16,449	8,226	36,122	24,028
Andahuaylas.....	12,020	5,000	22,850	14,899	48,100	26,167	107,726	86,289
Anta.....	15,281	10,782	17,594	14,989	21,668	15,292	39,377	27,797
Almaraz.....	13,905	11,872	28,638	18,776	25,330	10,443	50,084	26,301
Cailloma.....	62,196	29,692	21,522	19,343	20,220	16,796	30,210	22,734
Cajamarca.....	16,872	10,500	42,762	22,787	82,538	27,730	190,863	39,541
Cajatambo.....	6,199	5,519	24,799	15,599	31,035	20,399	52,307	25,929
Calca.....	34,968	29,045	18,425	16,853	14,086	11,017	33,778	23,190
Canas.....	12,133	10,333	36,109	33,119	35,866	33,720	58,264	53,654
Canta.....	9,365	8,385	9,433	7,013	16,650	14,978	27,965	9,751
Castrovirreyna.....	25,398	12,503	14,348	11,654	14,802	14,686	47,374	28,310
Chachapoyas.....	13,945	7,500	18,426	10,005	34,284	18,201	65,065	13,266
Chancay.....	53,775	19,859	13,943	10,512	36,440	17,903	128,944	30,634
Chota.....	15,973	11,475	53,775	19,859	98,314	31,409	214,189	8,073
Chumbivilcas.....	25,308	9,899	19,048	16,952	29,389	22,753	54,905	41,487
Conchucos.....	19,824	18,237	44,110	23,945	65,566	24,322	101,978	55,063
Cotabambas.....	31,982	14,254	21,979	15,614	28,646	19,845	64,182	44,103
Cuzco.....	38,150	17,117	40,000	18,720	23,108	9,455	54,631	16,622
Huamachuco.....	14,234	8,957	43,058	18,762	43,519	19,340	85,798	20,178
Huamantla.....	25,821	20,373	17,889	8,768	44,380	23,443	115,072	76,735
Huancavelica.....	5,146	3,803	18,167	16,758	29,905	26,331	51,509	45,184
Huánuco.....	16,826	7,598	18,001	14,285	50,106	39,139	117,743	97,446
Huari.....	14,024	13,084	14,534	9,048	34,601	23,698	118,952	71,769
Huarochoiri.....	40,822	20,935	42,661	9,327	59,766	20,152	89,807	55,379
Huaylas.....	20,576	6,607	14,258	13,394	14,397	13,027	36,663	13,823
Ica.....	6,200	4,047	61,642	30,881	109,823	62,335	172,360	105,775
Jaén.....	52,286	28,477	7,033	4,754	37,789	17,982	99,393	16,082
Jauja.....	62,910	9,744	7,345	2,214	12,626	6,166	44,684	7,959
Lima.....	15,725	12,700	93,033	48,927	125,259	70,732	258,192	153,843
Lucanas.....	16,011	8,475	65,116	9,690	120,994	26,414	562,885	27,944
Parinacochas.....	20,236	15,034	13,843	11,002	23,852	17,056	69,867	49,777
Paruro.....	13,508	4,627	12,713	26,204	17,816	40,431	21,012	21,012
Pataz.....	12,973	11,229	17,732	15,965	16,800	9,921	29,133	20,661
Paucartambo.....	44,491	24,797	7,476	29,244	19,763	50,706	11,619	11,619
Piura.....	24,337	19,947	11,720	10,937	14,086	12,211	28,666	24,693
Quispicanchis.....	3,334	873	53,815	30,943	135,615	79,792	434,314	154,890
Santa.....	18,726	12,820	26,778	23,033	37,938	29,814	75,618	60,223
Tacna.....	13,161	9,020	2,159	415	18,639	5,584	33,955	7,672
Tayacaja.....	12,031	4,577	20,305	12,579	36,009	21,807	36,349	18,963
Trujillo.....	9,250	5,164	20,345	15,618	38,161	27,098	84,059	69,203
Urubamba.....	9,574	8,005	7,211	4,164	32,559	10,622	116,682	11,600
Yauyos.....			15,089	9,568	26,870	15,550	56,801	29,178
Total.....	850,980	490,515	1,100,150	651,993	1,776,708	972,919	4,194,278	1,758,541
Percent.....		57.64		59.26		54.76		41.93

¹Includes Anta. ²Includes Chota. ³Includes Huari. ⁴Figures of 1788.

by caste are known. The two figures for 1586 and 1795 do, however, yield a measure for the process of caste formation during the Colonial era. When the percentages are plotted together with those of the Republican era, as in figure 1, certain conclusions suggest themselves. By contrast with events since the Wars of Independence, the three centuries of Colonial rule show that the non-Indian caste grew more rapidly than it has grown since 1795. In other words, the Colonial attitude toward passage from Indian to non-Indian caste may be described as more relaxed and more permissive than since Independence. In the second place, and by extrapolation, it appears that the Colonial rate of caste-change, had it prevailed after 1795 unchanged to the present, would have reached the caste percentages of 1940 in 1876. The dotted line in figure 1 illustrates this notion. By the same token, the Indian population of Peru would today be less than 30 percent of the total, instead of nearly 42 percent.

To attempt prediction on the grounds of such records and deductions is impossible. The evidence we have is that Peruvian population composition is a social process and not a biological one. In the course of this process the two dominant castes exchange positions of dominance and increase at irregular and unpredictable intervals in the recent past, and in unexpected magnitudes. The governing factors in the process are probably economic and ideological, and in no case biological, where caste is involved. It is not unlikely that among the conditions favoring Indian increase and dominance, are local conditions of economic disintegration and impoverishment, and of geographical isolation. Also relevant is the need of a society approaching industrialization, for a large reserve of cheap and rootless labor. Intervening here, a romantic ideology of Indian rural existence has the paradoxical and unintended effect of hardening the caste boundaries between the Indian and the mestizo. Such is the literary,

artistic, and political movement of "indigenismo" in twentieth-century Peru, which, by lamenting and publicizing Indian dispossession and Indian misery, reenergizes a racial concept of Indian status instead of dispelling it.

It is too soon to appraise the part that has been played by "indigenismo" in recent decades. In practical life, the action of the *indigenista* artist and intellectual seems to have tended rather more toward the perpetuation of the Indian caste than to its assimilation by a modern citizenry.

At the present moment, by the evidence of our maps plotting Indian majority (maps 4, 6, 8, 10), and the maps of areas where Indian percentages have recently increased (maps 15, 19), the regions of decisively Indian character by caste standards, are five in number: (a) the mountainous heart of the Department of Piura; (b) the Departments of

Ancash and Huánuco; (c) in parts of Junín, Huancavelica, Apurímac, and Arequipa; (d) the Department of Cuzco, especially its peripheries; and (e) the Department of Puno. These five "islands" form the Indian core of modern Peru. In the past, parts of these "islands" were less Indian than they are today. From the evidence of the nineteenth century, we may deduce that as these areas shrink or increase by Indian caste percentages, so will they have prospered or become impoverished. On the other hand, it is not only possible, but perhaps even desirable, that future census questionnaires should altogether abandon the effort to classify the population either by "race" or by caste. The distinctions among the castes are probably intensified rather than reduced by enumeration.

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To refer in all bibliographical detail to the MSS. consulted in this archive would be to anticipate and fall short of the catalog projected by the Director, Señor Federico Schwab. I therefore refer to the MSS. only by call-number in the tables. MSS. cited in footnotes are described at more length. The sections of the archive I have consulted are the following:

1. The manuscript tax registers of the period 1826-54 are classified in section R. This letter precedes the numbers of all volumes in the series. A card catalog at the archive classifies the volumes by date but not by province.
2. The file of laws, decrees, and official correspondence of the Ministerio de Hacienda is ordered by date and by Ministry section in the series O. L. No card catalog exists. The collection is easily consulted.
3. The Colonial section of the archive has been cataloged. (See Schwab, 1947.)

ARCHIVO NACIONAL, PALACIO DE JUSTICIA. SECCIÓN HISTÓRICA.

The section called *Real Hacienda* is uncataloged. The following items bearing upon the subject of this paper were located:

"Libro Mayor/de la Contaduría Gral de Tributos/del Cargo de su Contador/Don Juan José de Leuro:/y comprende/la Cuenta/del año de 1801/." 58 fos.

"Contribución general de industria y predios . . . Huancane . . . 1850."

"Matricula/de Castas de la Prov^a de Paruro/actuada en el año de/1836." This document, though lacking population figures, includes an *informe* dealing with sales and assignments of vacant lands. The *informe* is signed by Mariano Joaquín Zuzurraga.

"Paruro/Matricula de indigenas/en el quinquenio de 1830/ por Dn Manuel Paz y Tapia/." 192 fos. This paper contains an *informe*.

"Libro/de/matricula de castas de/la provincia de Tayacaja/Año de 1830/." 125 fos. The document is signed by Manuel de Beramendi.

"Urubamba/de Indigenas/en el quinquenio de 1826." 165 fos. Signed by Tomas Coronel.

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ARCHIVO ARZOBISPAL, PALACIO ARZOBISPAL.

Six *legajos* of parish head counts from the Archbishopric of Lima, dating from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, are available. With the kind permission of Rev. Dr. Rivarola, archivist, these papers were sorted and numbered. We have here referred only to 14 such registers from the Province of Canta, dated 1813.

Bogota

ARCHIVO NACIONAL.

With the courteous permission of the Director, Dr. Enrique Ortega Ricaurte, I was able to examine the uncataloged MS. materials bearing upon the episcopacy of Bishop Baltasar Jaime Martínez de Compañón. These materials are being transcribed by Dr. Ortega's staff. They will, when published, throw much light on North Peruvian history at the end of the eighteenth century. Of particular use to this study were the following items:

MS. 216. Martínez Compañón, Baltasar Jaime, *comp.* "Colección original inédita de mapas relativas al Obispado del Trujillo (Perú), retratos en colores y dorados de Arzobispos, Vireyes y otros personajes del Perú; planos de ciudades; cuadros sobre lenguas indígenas etc." 129 plates. 24 x 17 cm. 1782-88.

Uncataloged. "Provincia de Jaen de Bracamoros. Padron . . . del Numero de Almas, con Distinción de Sexos, Estados, Clases, y Castas, incluso Parbulos que havitan en esta Provincia de Jaen de Bracamoros. Con arreglo a lo prebenido en la Real Orden de Diez de Noviembre de Mil Setecientos Setenta y Seis." Three sheets, dated 1778, 1779, and 1780. Signed Antonio Lopez.

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PLATE 1.—Title page of *Matricula Jral de Indigenas de la Provincia de Caylloma* . . . 1843. (AHMH, R.0284.) Pen-and-ink drawing.

[illegible]

PLATE 2.—General summary. *Matricula fœal de Indigenas* . . . *Caylloma* . . . 1843.
Pen-and-ink drawing.

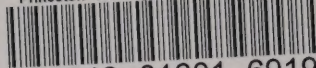
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